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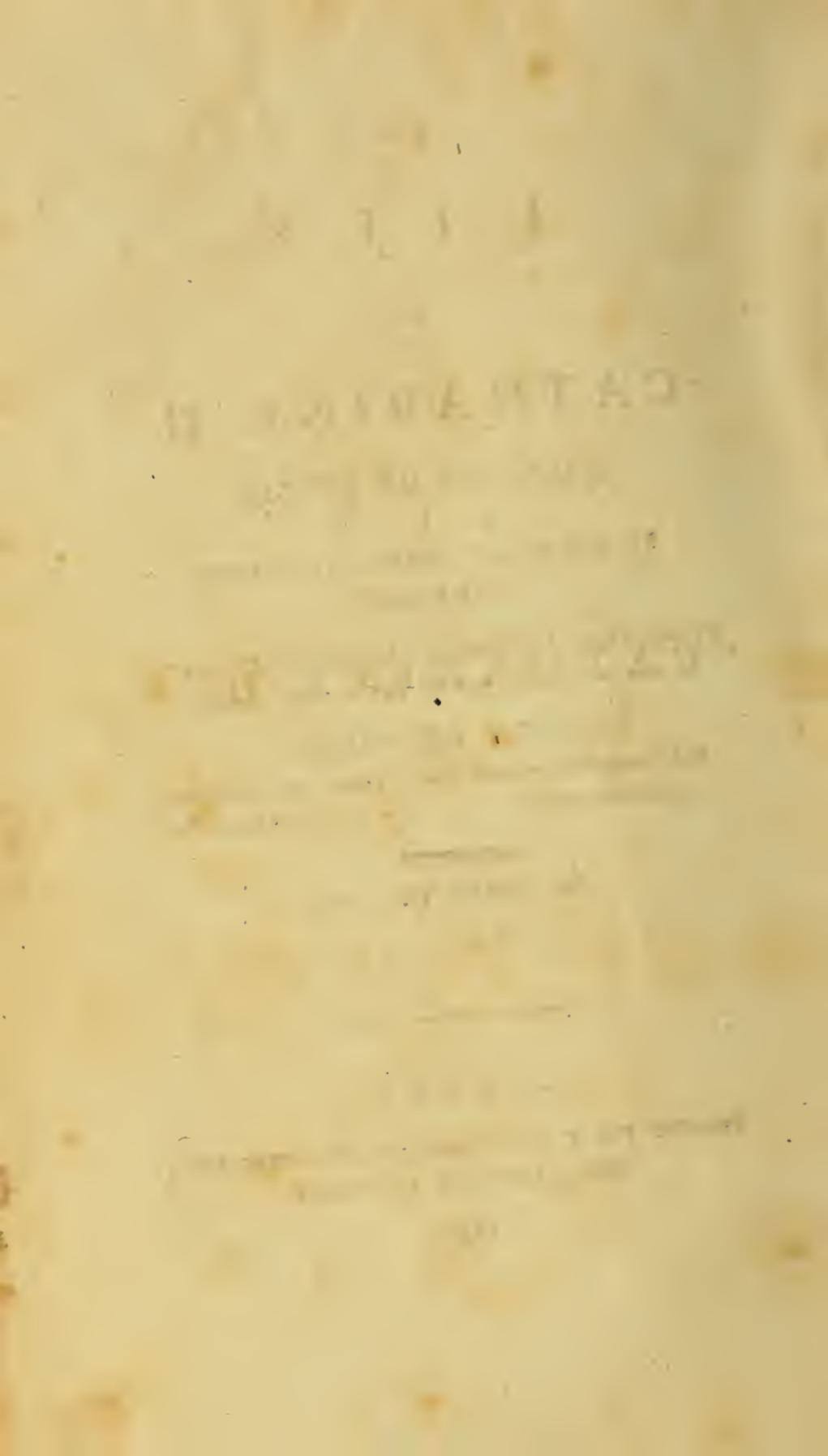






THE
L I F E
O F
C A T H A R I N E II.
EMPRESS OF RUSSIA.

VOL. II.



THE
L I F E
OF
CATHARINE II.
EMPERESS OF RUSSIA.

AN ENLARGED TRANSLATION FROM
THE FRENCH.

WITH SEVEN PORTRAITS ELEGANTLY ENGRAVED,
AND A CORRECT MAP OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

*Nihil compositum miraculi causâ, verùm audita scriptaque
senioribus tradam.* TACIT. Ann. lib. xi.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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L I F E
OF THE
EMPRESS CATHARINE II.

C H A P. IV.

State of Poland from the time of the kings of the first race to the death of Augustus III.—Election of prince Poniatofsky.—Fresh conspiracy at St. Petersburg.—Journey of the empress into Livonia.—Assassination of prince Ivan in the castle of Schlusselburg.—Punishment of Mirovitch, and other events of 1763, 1764, &c.

POLAND, which had sometimes acted so conspicuous a part in the politics of Europe, and which, from the extent of its territory, the fertility of its soil, the high spirit and courage of its inhabitants, seemed formed for acquiring a still greater preponderance, has lost, by the defects

of its government, a part of the advantages it had received from nature.

This kingdom had long been under the influence of Russia ; and that influence had become the more powerful under Catharine, as, independently of the army of Romantzoff, encamped on the banks of the Vistula, 50,000 men had taken up their quarters in Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland. Augustus III. declining in his health, as well from the irregularities of his life as from the vexation occasioned him by the invasion of Saxony, was now verging fast to the grave. All such as had formed pretensions to the succession, accordingly began to examine their strength ; and the court of Petersburg was the centre of their intrigues. The aspiring mind of Catharine was flattered at seeing herself the arbiter of these ambitious rivals. But, while she thought proper to foment their divisions and to encourage their hopes, she was secretly decided in her choice. She was in want of a king, whose weakness and servility she knew : she made choice of Poniatofsky.

It will not be useless here to cast an eye upon the state of that rich and unhappy country, which we shall see more than once exciting the ambition of Catharine, and which she long con-
tinued

tinued to harass, the better to prepare it for being usurped.

The history of Poland, like that of almost all the other countries of Europe, reaches back to an æra extremely remote, and filled with uncertainty. All that we know with tolerable precision is, that Poland at first was governed by a race of kings*, whose power was nearly absolute. To this race succeeded the Piasts, who are thought to have been elective, but who, for several generations, preserved the crown in their family. The kingdom was frequently disturbed by the pretensions of the magnats, who combined against the monarch, and opposed to him a power which balanced that of the crown.

One of the last kings of the race of the Piasts, Casimir III. surnamed the great, or the father of the peasantry, repressed the dangerous and always turbulent authority of the grandees, by conferring a variety of privileges on the inferior noblesse, and by that means alarming them with a dangerous rivalship. But that prince, however addicted to justice, and how great soever his concern in behalf of the unhappy peasants, was never able to mitigate the barbarous lot to which they are doomed in Poland.

* The race of Lesko.

Lewis of Hungary, nephew and successor of Casimir, was not in a capacity to benefit by the advantages that monarch had acquired, because, on bestowing on him the crown, the nobility obliged him to subscribe to burdensome conditions. On the death of Lewis, without leaving a male heir, that turbulent nobility made an offer of the throne to Ladislaus Yagellon, duke of Lithuania, and imposed on him the same conditions as had been accepted by Lewis. One of these conditions was, not to raise subsidies without the consent of the diets. His successors were, equally with him, forced to be continually making new sacrifices for obtaining the imposts that were necessary to their government; and Sigismond Augustus was at length induced to consent*, that at his death the crown should become absolutely elective. This prince, who had no son, was without difficulty brought to agree to make a declaration, by which he purchased his repose. In a short time afterwards a charter was framed†, which became the basis and guarantee of that privilege. The four principal articles of the charter were :

* In the year 1550.

† Known under the name of *Pacta conventa*.

i. That

1. That the crown should be elective ; and that the king should never appoint a successor during his lifetime.
2. That general diets should be assembled every two years.
3. That every nobleman of Poland should have the right of voting at the election of a king.
4. That if the king shall presume to infringe the laws, and to disavow the privileges of the nation*, the subjects shall be absolved from their oath of allegiance.

The privileges secured by this charter were still farther extended ; and all the successors of Sigismond Augustus down to Stanislaus Poniatofsky inclusively, were only elected upon their swearing to maintain them. Could less then be expected from princes who received the crown as a matter of favour, and who, if they had not accepted it on these conditions, would have been obliged to forego it in favour of a less scrupulous competitor ? The nobles, the more they increased their power, abused it the more. Not contented with freely granting their suffrages, they sold them. Henry de Valois was the first who purchased, by means of promises and gold,

* That is to say, of the nobles ; for the rest is counted for nothing.

the throne of the Yagellons ; means which have since only yielded to the terror of arms.

On every accession to the throne the nobility usurped some additional privilege. During the reign of John Casimir, the *liberum veto* was created. This was a right given to each nobleman singly to put a stop to the deliberation of a whole diet, and to dissolve it by the sole act of his will ; a right which has been one of the principal sources of the troubles, the anarchy, and the total destruction of Poland.

But by such an extent of power as every nobleman had, we may form a judgment of that enjoyed by the palatines*, the great officers, and, in general, all the wealthy Poles. Some-

* In Poland are 32 palatines, who are properly governors of provinces, 3 castellans, and 1 starost. Though the quality of the two latter be inferior to that of a palatine, yet there are four of them who posses the first ranks amongst the temporal nobles, the castellan of Cracow being the first of all. The office of a palatine is to lead the troops of his palatinate to the army ; to preside in the assemblies of the nobility in his province ; to set a price upon merchandizes and commodities ; to take care that the weights and measures be not altered ; and to judge and defend the jews. He has a vice-palatine under him, who must take an oath to him, and who ought to have an estate in land, which they call *possessionatus*. To these follow the order of nobility, who are alone capable of possessing all the offices and lands in the duchy and kingdom.

times they raised regiments independent on the authority of the king ; at other times they formed confederacies, which, under pretence of defending the laws, sowed sedition and revolt, and in the sacred name of liberty exercised the absurdest tyranny.

It is the blind ambition of the polish nobles that has been for 300 years gradually consummating the ruin of their country. That nation, naturally brave, which has often conquered the Ottomans, and which has given law to Prussia and to Russia, has not been able, since these dissensions, to resist any of the armies by which it has been attacked. The forces of the kings of Sweden, Charles Gustavus and Charles XII. alternately found it an easy prey ; and from the moment that the Russians were able to oppose disciplined troops to its brilliant and licentious pospolite, they have found themselves in a capacity to dictate laws to the nation.

Under such circumstances the Poles called themselves free. But what sort of a freedom was that they enjoyed, even while they were exercising the boasted right of electing their kings ? The age in which we live has produced examples to the contrary ; and one * of the men

* Sarnisky.

who best understood their history, has defied them to shew but two instances of a free election.

There is scarcely a great potentate in Europe that has not had more or less influence in these elections : but for upwards of fifty years Russia has been the only power by which they have been actually directed.

Such was the situation of Poland when the death of Augustus III.* revived the cabals of the pretenders to the throne, and furnished Catharine the means of displaying her political talents with the utmost effect. That sovereign, whom the courts of Vienna and Versailles were in hopes of detaching from Prussia, began their operations by artfully obtaining from those courts an assurance that they would not interfere in the affairs of Poland. In 1764, the marquis de Paulmy, ambassador from France at Warsaw, declared † at the diet, that Lewis XV. would have nothing to do in the election of the new king ; and shortly after the count de Mercy held the same language on the part of Maria Theresa.

The promise of these two courts, however, was not sufficient for Catharine. She was desi-

* The 5th of October, 1763.

† The 16th of March.

rous

rous of some assurance that she should not be thwarted by that of Berlin : in this she succeeded. Frederic had long been soliciting her to sign a treaty of defensive alliance ; and she coveted it the more as she had employed so much art in inducing him to desire it. Imagining that the delays which she made to the conclusion of this business, arose only from the repugnance she had to a minister* who had been the friend of her husband, the prussian monarch made choice of a plenipotentiary who should necessarily be more agreeable to that princess : he sent to St. Petersburg the count of Solms, who had married a princess of Anhalt-Bernburg, cousin-german to Catharine. The count de Solms was extremely well received by the empress, with whom he shortly after, in the name of the king of Prussia, concluded a treaty, subjoined to which was the secret article as follows :

“ It being for the interest of his majesty the king of
“ Prussia and of her majesty the empress of all the Russias,
“ to exert their utmost care and all their efforts for main-
“ taining the republic of Poland in its state of free election,
“ and that it should not be permitted to any one to render
“ the said kingdom hereditary in his family, or to make
“ himself absolute therein ; his majesty the king of Prussia
“ and her imperial majesty have promised and mutually en-
“ gage themselves, in the most solemn manner, by this

* The baron de Goltz.

“ secret

“ secret article, not only not to permit any one, whoever
“ he be, to attempt to divest the republic of its right of
“ free election, to render the kingdom hereditary, or to
“ make himself absolute therein, in all cases whenever such
“ attempt should be made; but also to prevent and to frus-
“ trate, by all possible means, and in common consent, the
“ views and designs that have a tendency to that end, as
“ soon as they shall be discovered, and even, in case of ne-
“ cessity, to recur to the force of arms, to defend the re-
“ public from the overthrow of its constitution and its
“ fundamental laws.

“ The present secret article shall have the same force and
“ vigour as if it had been inserted word for word in the
“ principal treaty of defensive alliance signed this day, and
“ shall be ratified at the same time.

“ In virtue whereof two similar copies of it have been
“ made, which we, the ministers plenipotentiary of his
“ majesty the king of Prussia, and of her majesty the em-
“ pres of all the Russias, authorized to that purpose, have
“ signed and sealed with the seal of our arms.

“ Done at St. Petersburg, the 11th of April (the
“ 31st of March O. S.) 1764.

“ C. DE SOLMS. PANIN. GALLITZIN.”

The new sovereign of Saxony, who flattered
himself with the prospect of inheriting the throne
of Augustus III. as he had inherited his elector-
ate, addressed himself to the empress, to prevail
upon her to approve his pretensions: but she
made no hesitation to deprive him of all hope.
She wrote to him, “ That she advised him, as
“ a true friend; not to expose his interests in

“ an

" an affair which in the issue could not answer
" his expectations."

Conscious of her power in Poland, Catharine dismissed, one after another, the candidates who were not agreeable to her, without, however, giving any intimation as yet concerning the person whom she intended to favour. The greater number of the Poles were for electing a Piast, a descendant of their ancient kings. Catharine also for some time appeared to be of the same sentiment. But all at once it was heard with amazement at Warsaw, that it was count Poniatofsky whom that monarch had destined to the throne. This choice excited an almost universal discontent and violent murmurs. The polish magnats, incensed at the prospect of being governed by a young man* of a birth not very illustrious, and whose elevation was neither justified by shining actions nor extraordinary virtues, reciprocally interrogated one another, what services count Poniatofsky had rendered the republic, for obtaining so glorious a reward?

Count Poniatofsky was endowed with those qualities which are more adapted to conciliate the friendship of particular persons, than to fit him for swaying a sceptre. Tall, well-made, of a figure at once commanding and agreeable, he

* He was at that time 32 years of age.

spoke

spoke and wrote with fluency the seven principal languages of Europe, and in a graceful diction : but he possessed only a slight knowledge of affairs. His eloquence was vague and desultory, his presumption too apparent. Rather weak than gentle, rather prodigal than generous, he might easily mislead women, and dazzle a thoughtless multitude, but not persuade men of cultivated minds. He was doubtless fitter to submit to be governed than to govern himself. Nevertheless, supported by the influence and arms of Russia, and having no obstacle to fear on the part of other powers, his triumph was not long in suspense. The consequence of Catharine was involved in this triumph. That princess set so great a value on seeing the crown of the Sarmates on the brow of her former favourite, that she wrote without delay to count Kayserling, her ambassador at Warsaw, to employ every means in behalf of Poniatofsky. One of her letters was intercepted, and contained the following words :—“ Mon cher comte, sou-
“ venez-vous de mon candidat. Je vous écris
“ ceci deux heures après minuit : jugez si la
“ chose m'est indifférente * !”

* “ My dear count, remember my candidate. I write
“ this to you at two o'clock in the morning ; judge whether
“ I am indifferent about the affair !”

Count

Count Kayserling was careful not to disobey. Neither he nor the russian generals neglected any thing for securing the choice which their sovereign desired. The dyetines were already convoked. That of Warsaw elected Poniatofsky by an unanimous suffrage: but whatever pains had been taken for bringing those of the provinces to the same favourable disposition, his success was not the same. His competitors obtained a majority of voices in some, and at least an equal number with his in the others.

At the assembling of the diet of convocation, the russian troops entered Warsaw, under pretence of preserving liberty and order.

Crowds of foreigners at the same time poured into that city, all ready to unite at the very first signal. Count Branichky, grand general of the crown, and prince Radzivil, took arms in order to prevent the Russians from extorting the suffrages: but what could they do against foreign armies who were masters of the country; and against a part of their countrymen disposed to join those armies? It is a difficult matter to form an adequate idea of the tumult that began to prevail in the diet of Warsaw. Count Mala-kofsky, venerable for his great age and his virtues, had been appointed its marshal. He endeavoured in vain to reduce it to order, and

to clear it of strangers. He was answered by furious vociferations, and sabres were drawn. The eloquent Mokranofsky, nuntio of Cracow, ran the risk of his life under the swords of the russian officers, who endeavoured to pierce him from the galleries of the speakers. He at first thought of standing on his defence; but, presently returning his sabre into the sheath, and exposing his breast:—“ If you must needs have “ a victim,” said he to the Russians, “ I stand “ here before you. But at least I shall die “ free, as I have hitherto lived.”—It is not improbable that he would have fallen a prey to their fury, had not prince Adam Chartorinsky had the generous courage to throw himself in the way, and to shield him with his body. Thus, in the first sittings of the diet nothing passed but injurious speeches and tumultuous quarrels.

Some one at Petersburg who knew what displeasure the election of Poniatofsky would occasion to the Poles, and, wanting to vilify him in the eyes of Catharine, had the boldness to tell that monarch, that he whose interest she espoused seemed the less proper to fill the throne of Poland, as his grandfather had been intendant of a little estate belonging to the princes Lubomirsky.—“ Though he had been so himself,” re-

turned she, somewhat nettled, "I will have him to be king, and he shall be."

Holding this language, Catharine was under no apprehensions of being deceived. Independently of the troops which she had already in Poland, she caused a body of 12,000 men to enter Lithuania, and fresh reinforcements were advancing towards Kief. Her ambassador ruled at Warsaw, and her armies, if the expression may be allowed, compressed the republic.

Several of the provinces now heavily accused their nuncios of having badly corresponded with their desires in submitting to the influence of the court of Petersburg. They did not confine themselves to murmurs. They had recourse to arms; they formed into different confederacies; but these movements were attended by no consequences. The Russians threatened: the malcontents were presently silenced.

At length the diet of election was opened; held, according to custom, in the plain of Vola, at the distance of about three miles from Warsaw. This diet began by a solemn mass, and a sermon*. Count Kayserling, ambassador from

* The preacher took his text from these words: *Eligite ex vobis meliorem, qui vobis placuerit, et posuite eum super sedilem.* 2 Kings, x. 3.

Russia, being at that time indisposed, could not repair to Vola, but sent to the diet a letter, addressed to him by the empress, recommending to him count Poniatofsky in the most pressing terms.

The other party, however, had not been idle, either during the election of the nuncios or representatives, who, in the name of the body of the nobility, were to chuse a king, nor at the first assembling of the states*. In the former case great tumults were raised, but they subsisted not long. In the latter 22 senators entered a protest against the proceedings of the diet, the principal reasons of which were grounded on the presence and interference of the foreign troops. Forty-five nuncios signed an act of adhesion to this protest.

Count Branichky, who was at the head of these protesters, retired from the diet. But that assembly, soon after its opening, took its revenge. An order was made for divesting him of the post of crown general. Branichky denied their power; drew together, into one body a great part of that army of which they had attempted to deprive him, but which still faithfully adhered to him; augmented it by levies; and prepared

* May 7, 1764.

to maintain himself by force; possessed, as it should seem, by a spirit of despair and fury, having no power in the least adequate to the height of his attempt. Prince Radzivil, on his part, was also up in arms, and with the same obstinacy, and no greater strength, struggled against the election.

The ambassadors of France, Spain, and the empire, finding their political intrigues of no more avail towards obstructing the election, than the hostile attempts of prince Radzivil and count Branichky were likely to be, retired from the diet and left Poland, declaring that they had not been sent to a party, but to the whole republic*.

An action at length happened † between prince Radzivil and the Russian troops, wherein the Poles, having fought a long time with their usual irregular bravery, were as usual defeated by the Russians.

The spirit of Poland appeared strongly in all the circumstances of this action. The princesses Radzivil, but newly married, and a sister of that prince, both of them young and beautiful, fought on horseback with sabres, and encouraged the soldiery both by their words and their example.

* June the 7th, 1764.

† On the 3d of July.

Branichky was also defeated by a body of Russians; and these two nobles, the only very considerable persons who opposed the Russian nomination, were obliged to fly out of their country, and to take shelter in the Turkish dominions, where they particularly value themselves on protecting the unfortunate; and these noble fugitives found refuge where Charles XII. had found it.

During all this time Poniatofsky, accompanied with a great number of his friends, was visiting each nuncio in particular, and endeavouring to gain them by testimonies of benevolence and flattering promises. The palatines being all assembled and ranged in order round the *shopa**,

* The general diet for the election of a king is always held in the open field, about two miles from Warsaw, near the village of Vola, where a sort of booth is erected, covered with boards, at the public charge, which in the Polish language is called *shopa*, or a shelter from bad weather. This place is built and prepared by the treasurer of the crown: it is surrounded with a ditch, and has three doors. The day appointed for the diet being come, the senate and the nobility proceed to St. John's church at Warsaw, to hear the mass of the holy ghost, to implore its influence in the election of a new king who may have all the qualities necessary to defend the interests of the church and of the republic: after which they go to the *shopa* and proceed to business.

a large

a large building, open on all sides occupied by the senate and the equestrian order. The primate asked with a loud voice, at three distinct times, who they would have for king? All answered unanimously:—"Count Poniatofsky!"—The next day * he was proclaimed king of Poland, and grand duke of Lithuania, under the name of Stanislaus Augustus. Thus the diet and the kingdom being freed, in the manner we have seen, from all those who were the declared opposers of Poniatofsky, the election was soon concluded in favour of that prince with an unanimity unknown in the annals of Poland.

The new monarch, on his return to Warsaw, passed along the streets of that capital amidst the acclamations of all the people, and from that same day he took possession of the palace of the republic. Some nuncios had abstained from appearing at the diet; the greater part of the prime nobility took umbrage at the appointment of Poniatofsky: but, no sooner was he on the throne than they came almost all to do him homage; and he began to reign in as much tranquillity as if his election had not been effected by violence †.

Some

* The 7th of September.

† Stanislaus Poniatofsky behaved at first with great judgment and circumspection. He received with kindness those

Some time previous to this election, Catharine had declared her intention of visiting the scene of

who had acted seemingly in the most direct opposition to his interest. The son of count Bruhl exerted himself to his prejudice, and yet that prince left him in possession of the post of grand master of the artillery which he had promised to count Branichky, palatin of Belsh, and of which indeed the latter had the generosity not to wish to deprive him.— Soon after his election, he received letters of congratulation from many of the courts of Europe. The most remarkable is that from the king of Prussia, written with his majesty's own hand. From the matter and the occasion, as well as the character of the writer, it is extremely worthy of being inserted at length. Nothing can be more glorious than a communication of such sentiments in the intercourse between sovereigns. “Your majesty must reflect, that, as “you enjoy a crown by election and not by descent, the “world will be more observant of your majesty's actions than “of any other potentate in Europe: and it is but reasonable. “The latter being the mere effect of consanguinity, no more “is looked for (though much more is to be wished) from “him, than what men are endowed with in common: but, “from a man exalted, by the voice of his equals, from “a subject to a king, from a man voluntarily elected to “reign over those by whom he was chosen, every thing is “expected that can possibly deserve and adorn a crown. “Gratitude to his people is the first great duty of such “a monarch: for to them alone (under Providence) he “is indebted that he is one. A king who is so by birth, if “he acts derogatory to his station, is a satire only on him-
“self;

of her successes, and to make the tour of Livonia. But whilst this monarch was employed abroad in disposing of crowns, at home her throne seemed to be tottering under her; and that vast power, which extended to the remotest part of Asia, which awed all Europe, and absolutely governed so many of its neighbours, was not secure of its own duration for a moment. Every breath of a conspiracy seemed to shake it: and such was the critical state of that empire, that the designs of the obscurest person in it were not unattended by danger.

In the course of this summer an event of that nature happened in Russia which is highly deserving of a place in history, from the extraordinary circumstances by which it was accompanied, though so extremely mysterious and unaccountable in many particulars, that we despair of affording any clear satisfaction to the reader concerning them.

“ self; but an elected one, who behaves inconsistent with
“ his dignity, reflects dishonour also on his subjects. Your
“ majesty, I am sure, will pardon this warmth. It is the
“ effusion of the sincerest regard. The amiable part of the
“ picture is not so much a lesson of what you ought to be,
“ as a prophecy of what your majesty will be.”

The empress, in the summer of 1764, in pursuance of her intentions already mentioned, set out on her journey through Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland. On her way, she passed over from Oranienbaum to Cronstadt; and thinking to give the foreign ministers an advantageous idea of her marine, she invited them to follow her to that port. They did so: but the opinion they formed of her naval forces fell far short of that which she entertained of them herself. There was but a small number of ships, which they judged but little adapted to keep the sea: and the English ambassador, with that frankness peculiar to his nation, did not dissemble that her navy was far from appearing to him to be very formidable. She afterwards proved that it was possible for it to become so.

On quitting Cronstadt, her majesty, having left the government of Petersburg to count Panin, took the road of Livonia, accompanied by count Gregory Orloff and a small retinue of nobility of both sexes. During her absence on this expedition, in the prison of the dethroned Ivan an insurrection broke out under the conduct of a certain Mirovitch, which cost that unfortunate prince his life,

Ivan Antonovitch, styled Ivan the third in the manifestoes that were published in his name while emperor, was born in 1740; great grandson of tsar Ivan Alexèyevitch, the elder half-brother of Peter the great*. On running over the series of russian monarchs from Alexèy Michailovitch downwards, our feelings are at every moment hurt by the intestine disturbances that have happened from different pretenders, of

* See the genealogical tables in the former volume, tab. iii.

Ivan III. if we reckon by the line of the tzars, or VI. if from the first sovereign of Russia, was proclaimed emperor on the death of empress Anne, and Biren regent; but this high elevation was soon to be followed by a dreadful fall. The father and the mother of the young emperor were discontented at seeing themselves excluded from the regency; and the insolence with which they were treated by Biren increased their displeasure. Munich, on his part, not having obtained from the regent what he thought due to his services, joined himself to those princes, and, in the night between the 20th and 21st of November, Manstein, aid-de-camp to Munich, arrested the regent. The princess Anne caused herself to be proclaimed regent during the minority of her son. The whole nation rejoiced at being freed from an abominable tyrant: he was conducted to Schlusselburg, tried, and condemned to death: but his punishment was mitigated to an exile for life in Siberia. This exile was again moderated, by transferring him to Yaroslauf, where he remained till 1762, when Peter III. as we have already seen, recalled him to court; and he was shortly after restored to his dukedom by Catharine.

which so many within so short a space of time, and in general attended with such shocks, no princely house in Europe has experienced, especially in modern times. But a cruel fatality seems, in a particular manner, to have propagated the seeds of discord between the families of the two imperial brothers.

We have seen him seized and confined with his parents and relations; at first conveyed to the citadel of Riga, then in the fortress of Dunnamund; from thence removed to Oranienburg, at the south-eastern extremity of European Russia. At all these places the being together alleviated the miseries of imprisonment, and especially the humane behaviour of captain Korf, which first awakened the gratitude of the infant emperor, and was all his life after recollect ed with emotion; solely on account of this lenity, the suspicion of the court fell upon Korf*, and he was removed from his office. About the latter end of 1745, or the beginning of the year 1746, the family was separated; all the rest being brought more northward to Kolmogori, Ivan was left behind in Oranienburg. To his great misfortune it came into the mind of a monk to carry him off; in their flight they had reached Smo-

* Afterwards promoted to the rank of general by Peter III,

lensk, where the affair was discovered, and they were detained. From thence the wretched captive, lately the envied emperor of a quarter of the globe, was now brought, for greater security, to Schlusselburg, and there lodged in a casematt of the fortress, the very loop-hole of which was immediately bricked up. He was never brought out into the open air, and no ray of heaven ever visited his eyes. In this subterranean vault it was necessary to keep a lamp always burning; and as no clock was either to be seen or heard, Ivan knew no difference between day and night. His interior guard, a captain and a lieutenant, were shut up with him; and there was a time when they did not dare to speak to him, not so much as to answer him the simplest question. What wonder if his ignorance should at length border on stupidity? This dreadful abode was however afterwards changed for that presently to be described, in the corridor under the covered way, in the castle. Elizabeth caused him once to be brought in a covered cart to Petersburg, and saw and conversed with him. Peter III. also visited him incognito; and what passed on this occasion has been already related. Catharine too had a conversation with him soon after the commencement of her reign, as she relates in her manifesto of the

the 28th of August 1764*, in order, as is there said, to form a judgment of his understanding and talents. To her great surprise she found him to the last degree deficient in both. She observed in him a total privation of sense and reason, with a defect in his utterance, that even had he any thing rational to utter, would have rendered him entirely unintelligible.

All persons, however, were not so thoroughly convinced of the incapacity of this prince. He was now arrived at the age of twenty-four years, and he might evidently be made an instrument, or at least a pretence, for exciting dangerous commotions. His just title to the crown, of which he had been formerly in possession, his long sufferings, without any other guilt than that possession and that title, his youth, and even the obscurity which attended his life, and which therefore gave latitude for conjecture and invention, formed very proper materials for working on the minds of the populace. At the moment when Catharine was taking her departure from the residence, she had intelligence of fresh conspiracies among the guards. Several of them were taken up; but experience having shewn that the detection of one conspiracy always en-

* Which see at the end of this volume.

couraged the hatching of some other ; and, willing to avoid irritating the multitude by the frequency of punishments, the conspirators were proceeded against in private, and many of them were suffered to pine out their lives in prison.

From the depth of his dungeon prince Ivan afforded hopes to those who held in abhorrence the present usurpation. It was for restoring the throne to this unfortunate captive that almost all these plots were formed. It was for his sake that men who had never seen him, and whose very existence was utterly unknown to him, were continually braving the scaffold. Faithful to the system of calumny that had been of such service to the destruction of Peter III. the court of Russia incessantly employed it against Ivan. One while it was given out that he was stupid, and incapable of uttering articulate sounds ; at another, that he was a drunkard, and as ferocious as a savage. Sometimes it was even pretended, that he was subject to fits of madness, and believed himself a prophet. But many there were to whom these reports seemed no better than tales invented by the blackest malignity, and afterwards innocently propagated by persons who did not reflect on the numberless interests that might concur in their invention. Doubtless, Ivan, to whom all kinds of instruction were refused,

refused *, and who was kept shut up in a loath-some prison, denied the converse of any human being from whom he could derive information, must necessarily have been of a very confined understanding: but there is still a great distance between ignorance and imbecility or madness. What evidently proves that Ivan was neither mad nor stupid is, in the first place, the conversation he had † at count Schuvaloff's with the empress Elizabeth. Not only the graces of his figure and the accents of his voice, but the moving complaints he uttered, awakened the sensibility of all that were present, and even drew from the empress abundance of tears. If that young prince had committed some act of lunacy, would it have failed of publication? Again, afterwards we find a fresh proof of his good sense and his sensibility in the discourse which he held to Peter III. when he saw him, for the first time, at Schlusselburg. Baron Korf has faithfully transmitted it to us, as we have related it in the first volume of this work ‡. Peter III. talked with him several times afterwards, and persisted in his intention of declaring

* It however has been affirmed, that a german officer, who for some time had the custody of him, clandestinely taught him to read.

† In 1756.

‡ See vol. i. p. 258, 259.

him

him his heir. Now it may well be imagined, that Volkoff, Goudovitch, and his other confidants, would have dissuaded him from it, if they could have brought themselves to imagine Ivan likely to be for ever unfit to wear the crown. But, to conclude, whatever might be the character of that prince, the daring attempts that were repeatedly made in his favour did not render him less formidable to Catharine and to the tranquillity of the empire.

Chance soon furnished an instrument to put him out of the way of being any disturbance to either. The regiment of Smolensk was in garrison in the town of Schlusselburg ; and a company of about 100 men guarded the fortress in which prince Ivan was confined. In this regiment was an officer named Vassily Mirovitch, whose grandfather had been implicated in the rebellion of the kozac Mazeppa, and had fought under Charles XII. against Peter the great. The estates of the family of Mirovitch had accordingly been forfeited to the crown. This young man, who had a good share of ambition, preferred with warmth his pretensions to have them restored ; and this it was that made him known at court. The family-estates were not given up ; but he was continually flattered with the hopes of their recovery, if he would shew himself

himself active in securing the tranquillity of the empire.

The inner guard placed over the imperial prisoner consisted of two officers, captain Vlasseff and lieutenant Tschekin, who slept with him in his cell. These had a discretionary order, signed by the empress, by which they were enjoined to put the unhappy prince to death, on any insurrection that might be made in his favour, on the presumption that it could not otherwise be quelled.

The door of Ivan's prison opened under a sort of low arcades, which, together with it, form the thickness of the castle-wall within the ramparts ; in this arcade or corridor eight soldiers usually kept guard, as well on his account, as because the several vaults on a line with his contain stores of various kinds for the use of the fortress. The other soldiers were in the guard-house, at the gate of the castle, and at their proper stations. The detachment had for its commander an officer, who himself was under the orders of the governor.

It has been affirmed that, some time before the execution of his project, Mirovitch had opened himself to a lieutenant of the regiment of Veliki Luki, named Uschakoff ; and that Uschakoff bound himself by an oath, which he

took at the altar of the church of St. Mary of Kasan in St. Petersburg, to aid him in the enterprise to the best of his power. But as this latter was drowned, a few days after this is said to have happened, as he was assisting in the launch of a vessel, it is impossible to ascertain the fact.

It is more apparent that he talked in vague terms of the conspiracy with one of the valets of the court, and that he mentioned it afterwards to Simeon Tschevarideff, lieutenant of artillery, and spoke of the advantages that would accrue from the rescue of Ivan, and the delivering of him to the regiments of the guards. While he thought to raise his consequence by putting on the air of a conspirator without accomplices, he however said nothing to Tschevarideff positively either of the time or the manner of executing his plot.

He had already performed his week's duty in the fortress, without venturing an attempt. But, tormented by the anxieties arising from suspense, and condemning his own irresolution, he asked permission to be continued on guard for one week longer. This was granted him without hesitation.

After having admitted into his confidence a man of the name of Jacob Pishkoff, he began
at

at about ten o'clock on a fine summer's night*, to fall into conversation with three corporals and two common soldiers; and after tampering with them some time, and obviating such difficulties as were suggested by their fears, they were soon gained over to his plan, and they promised to follow his orders. Nevertheless, whether from timidity or from precaution, they resolved with one consent to wait till the night was farther advanced. Between the hours of one and two in the morning, they came together again. Mirovitch and the corporals then made about fifty† of the soldiers who were on guard to put themselves under arms, and thus marched towards the prison of Ivan. On the way they met Brednikoff, the governor of the fortress, whom they thought fast locked in the arms of sleep; but who, rouzed by some noise, whether made by them or accidentally occasioned, had come out to see what was the matter. The governor, authoritatively demanded of Mirovitch the reason of his appearance in arms at the head of the soldiers? Without returning any answer, Mirovitch knocked him down with the butt end of his firelock, and, ordering some of his people to secure him, continued his march. Being arrived

* The $\frac{4}{15}$ th of July.

† It is probable that 38 was the exact number.

at the corridor into which the door of Ivan's chamber opened, the centinels put themselves in a posture to oppose his passage. He immediately ordered his men to fire upon them, which they did. The centinels returned their fire; but none were hurt either on the one side or the other.

The soldiers of Mirovitch, surprised at the resistance they met, shewed signs of an inclination to retreat. Their chief withheld them; but they insisted on his shewing them the order which he said he had received from Petersburg. He directly drew from his pocket and read to them a forged decree of the senate, recalling prince Ivan to the throne, and excluding Catharine from it, because she was gone into Livonia to marry count Poniatofsky. The ignorant and credulous soldiers implicitly gave credit to the decree, and again put themselves in order to obey him. A piece of artillery was now brought to Mirovitch, who himself pointed it at the door of the dungeon; but at that instant the door opened, and he entered, unmolested, with all his suite.

The officers Vlassieff and Tschekin, set over the prince as his guard, were shut up with him, and had called out to the centinels to fire. But, on hearing Mirovitch give orders to beat

in the door, and judging that they had not the means of making any resistance to the assailants, they fell sword in hand on the wretched victim now attempted to be carried off.

At the noise of the firing Ivan had awoke; and, hearing the cries and the threats of his guards, he conjured them to spare his miserable life. But, on seeing that these barbarians had no regard to his prayers, he found new force in his despair, and, though naked, defended himself for a considerable time. Having his right hand pierced through and his body covered with wounds, he seized the sword from one of the monsters and broke it; but while he was struggling to get the piece out of his hand, the other stabbed him from behind, and threw him down. He who had his sword broke now plunged his bayonet into his body, and several times repeating his blow, under these strokes the unhappy prince expired.

They then opened the door, and shewed Mirovitch at once the bleeding body of the murdered prince, and the order by which they were authorised to put him to death, if any attempt should be made to convey him away.

Mirovitch, struck with horror, at first started back some paces; then threw himself on the body of Ivan, and cried out:—“ I have missed

“ my

" my aim ; I have now nothing to do but to die."—But he presently rose up. So far from attempting to flee from the punishment which he must now foresee, or to take his revenge on the two assassins by shooting them on the spot, he returned to the place where he had left the governor in the hands of his soldiers ; and, surrendering to him his sword, coldly said :—
" It is I that am now your prisoner."

The next day the body of the poor unfortunate Ivan was exposed before the church * in the castle of Schlusselburg, cloathed in the habit of a sailor. As soon as it was known immense crowds of people flocked thither from the neighbouring towns and from St. Petersburg ; and it is impossible to describe the grief and indignation that were excited at the view of an unfortunate being, who, after having been cruelly

* An old lutheran church built of timber for the use of the garrison while Nöteborg was in possession of the Swedes, long before it was taken from them by Peter the great. The church is in a very decayed state, full of rubbish, and not employed in any religious purposes. The painted altar is removed from its proper place at the east end, and stands against the north side wall, and in its place, filling the enclosure where the altar rails have been, is a large pile of deal planks, in a state of rottenness : under this stack of wood the body of Ivan was thrown, where it lay for some time.

precipitated from the throne while yet in his cradle, passed his days in a dark and doleful dungeon, where he was inhumanly put to death by assassins. Ivan was full six feet high, with a fine blond head of hair, a red beard, regular features, and of a complexion extremely fair: accordingly, the beauty of his person and his youth * heightened the sensibility that was universally discovered at the unhappiness of his lot, and the cruelty of his murderers. His body was wrapt up in a sheep-skin, put into a coffin, and inhumed without ceremony.

The concourse and the murmurs increased to such a degree that a tumult was now apprehended. To avoid any fatal consequences to themselves the two assassins Vlassieff and Tsche-kin, as soon as they had perpetrated their crime, put themselves on board of a vessel which they found on the point of sailing for Denmark, where, on their arrival, the russian minister took them under his protection†.

The governor of Schlusselburg dispatched to Petersburg a full relation of the horrid outrage of Mirovitch, and of the tragical end of Ivan.

* He had not yet completed his 24th year.

† They shortly after returned to Russia, and were advanced in the service.

He accompanied this account with a manifesto that had been found in the pocket of Mirovitch, and which, it was said, had been long fabricated in concert with lieutenant Uschakoff. This manifesto, which contained many scurrilous invectives and imprecations against Catharine, and represented prince Ivan as the sole legitimate emperor, it was observed, was to have been published at the moment the prince was set at liberty and was making his entry into St. Petersburg. Panin immediately sent off a courier to the empress with an exact account of these particulars.

Her majesty was then at Riga; and, under a visible impatience of mind, was frequently inquiring after news from the residence: a circumstance by no means unaccountable, if we consider the frequent causes of alarm from plots and cabals with which she had been incessantly harassed since the beginning of her reign. Her inquietude increased from day to day, and she would often rise in the night to ask whether no courier was arrived*. Some persons afterwards recollected these circumstances to her

* These facts have often been confirmed by general Brown; who, being a good roman catholic, honestly attributed these perturbations of Catharine to supernatural presentiments.

disadvantage, as if she was anxiously counting the days since the period when Mirovitch was stationed on guard *. At length, after three days had elapsed, the dispatches of Panin were brought to her hand.

The senate passed sentence alone upon Mirovitch, condemning him to be beheaded. The two officers were rewarded.

The public was much divided in opinion concerning the whole of this transaction. It was thought inconceivable that an insignificant private individual should hazard an enterprise, that, if even at first all things should go well, yet could never be prosecuted to final success by him. That in the attack no one should be hurt; that upon Ivan's death all should be immediately as quiet as if nothing had happened; that no enquiry was set on foot about any accomplices in Petersburg, of which there had been some talk at first; seemed to give room to surmise that simply this death was the object in view, and to this sole end the whole machinery was directed. None of the court party could have done this service to the absent empress,

* The circumstance that Mirovitch had suffered his week's duty on guard to expire before he could summon up courage enough to attempt the execution of his project, was not, on this occasion, forgotten,

without her knowledge and consent. But, on the other hand, the slanderous manifesto found upon Mirovitch was produced, which he intended to have published immediately upon his having Ivan in his possession, and which count Panin, it was said, had actually read and sent to the sovereign; but particularly the execution of the rebel: if perhaps it was he, and not some unknown malefactor, who underwent that punishment.—Let it suffice, the public emotions of pity and displeasure at the sad catastrophe of the imperial progeny, and himself once emperor, were plainly manifested by every kind of expression. The multitudes of people who, notwithstanding all that could be done to check their impetuosity, still flocked to the castle, insisting on seeing the body, were so great, that the government was obliged to give orders to remove it from the castle-church, and convey it in the silence of the night with the utmost secrecy, to the monastery of Tichfina, 200 versts from Petersburg. Among the regiments of guards in that city, who thought they had the exclusive right to depose and to murder emperors, violent commotions arose; that especially in the night of the 24th of July, caused the greatest alarm: it was only by the prudent measure of prince Galitzin, who caused powder and ball to be publicly distributed among

the marching regiments that were encamped in the vicinity of Petersburg, that tranquillity was restored. When the two officers by whom the prince was assassinated appeared at court, every one beheld them with looks of undissembled contempt and abhorrence.

Catharine's throne was now firmly established. Even the angry spirit that persecuted the family of Ivan seemed at length appeased. As her majesty afterwards set at liberty the other members of it, it may be necessary to make some brief mention of them here. The parents and relations of the unfortunate young emperor had been brought to Kolmogori, a village-like town in the government of Archangel, on an island of the Dwina. Here they dwelt poor and melancholy, in close confinement. The mother, Anna Carlovna, died in child-bed, while Elizabeth was yet reigning, in March 1746, and was taken from hence, and buried in the same monastery where afterwards Peter III. at last found rest. The father, Anthony Ulric, died in 1776. He left behind him two princes, Peter and Alexey, two princesses, Catharine and Elizabeth, and several natural children: all, except the elder of the princesses, born in prison. For a series of 17 years they were very severely treated by Golovtzin, the last viceroy of Archangel. After his death, which

which happened in 1779, Catharine appointed in his place a man of more generous sentiments, the general-governor Melgunef, who visited the unfortunate captives, administered to them every consolation in his power, took with him a letter from the princess Elizabeth to the empress; and, on delivering it, described their situation in such affecting terms, that her majesty immediately resolved to open a negotiation with the court of Denmark. The dowager-queen of that kingdom, Juliana Maria, was a sister of duke Anthony Ulric. In the following year, 1780, the business was brought to a conclusion: the accommodation was easy, as Catharine acted with her wonted magnanimity. If, as is probable, a deed of renunciation of all pretensions to the Russian throne was required of the state-prisoners in behalf of themselves and their posterity, neither could this occasion any difficulty. The empress directly sent them 200,000 rubles, to provide the family with clothes, plate, porcelain, &c. befitting their rank. This she accompanied with a present of rich furs and jewels from the imperial cabinet; and appointed persons of quality to attend the princes and princesses on their voyage. At Archangel Melgunef first discovered to them their liberation, and the intended voyage to Denmark. They heard the

news

news with sorrow, and earnestly intreated to be sent back to their old prison ; till the persuasions of the generous Melgunef raised their spirits, and inspired them with courage *. In July a frigate brought the whole family to Bergen in Norway, where the princes and princesses were taken on board a danish ship, leaving the illegitimate children to return with the imperial frigate. The parting with these half-relatives excited the most painful emotions in the breasts of the family. The most sensible of them, Elizabeth, survived not long her grief and the shock her frame had received at this sudden change of fortune. The four brothers and sisters of Ivan were, at the time when they obtained their liberty, between 30 and 40 years of age. The danish court assigned them the city of Horsens in Jutland, as the place of their residence. Towards their establishment there Ca-

* The dowager queen of Denmark, in the letter of thanks which she wrote to the empress in terms of the tenderest sensibility, highly extolled, as she had reason to do, the behaviour of this worthy man in the whole of his conduct. This testimony saved him, on occasion of an unmerited accusation that was brought against him concerning his behaviour in this business, and which threatened him with imminent danger : and, on his having justified himself, to the satisfaction of all impartial judges, Catharine rewarded him with the order of St. Andrew, and made him many presents besides.

tharine presented them with 20,000 rubles, and paid annually to the maintenance of their dignity, 30,000 rubles. In October 1782, the princess Elizabeth died at Horsens ; and her death was followed by that of her brother Alexèy in October 1787. The natural children of the duke of Brunswic received in Russia an annual pension : one of them, a daughter named Amelia, after her return, married lieutenant Karikin, who, for twelve years, had the guard of the family at Kolmogori, and with whom she had long been intimately acquainted.

To return to our history. Catharine, soon after the shocking event that had happened at Schlusselburg, arrived from off her journey through the conquered provinces. On her entry into Petersburg, she was surrounded by an immense concourse of people, who endeavoured to find out by her countenance what was passing in her heart ; but, always mistress of herself, the face of that princess was ever covered with smiles. Her step was as firm, her front as serene, as those who feel no inward reproaches usually are.

Lieutenant-general Weymar had already been charged to repair to Schlusselburg. After having privately examined Mirovitch and his accomplices, they were brought to Petersburg, where

where their trial was opened before a commission composed of five prelates, of an equal number of senators, and several general officers. Mirovitch appeared before the judges with all that tranquillity which only the hope of pardon can communicate to a criminal like him. He replied with a frivolous and often insolent air, to the interrogatories that were put to him. It is true that the judges themselves seemed not to make it a matter of great importance, and rather appeared as if they dreaded to fathom this execrable mystery. One alone* had so much sense of propriety as to declare against such an extraordinary mode of procedure. But he was blamed for his indiscreet zeal, and advised to keep silence, if he would not lose his office, and be degraded from his rank of noblesse. In fine, after some days spent in the trial, Mirovitch was condemned to lose his head †, not as guilty of high treason, but only as a disturber of the public peace. Unmoved at this sentence, he walked to the scaffold like a man who had nothing to fear, and who thought himself sure of obtaining a pardon, as indeed, according to a report, it had been promised him. But if he really reckoned on a pardon, he was cruelly

* He was a senator.

† On the 26th of September.

deceived.

deceived. The time for his execution was accelerated ; and the unhappy wretch, if he had before been the instrument, was now the victim of a barbarous policy. Those who considered him in the former point of view were astonished that the empress should suffer him to fall under the axe. But how could she have screened him from punishment without manifestly drawing upon herself the charge of having prompted his crime ? and if she were really concerned in it, can it be thought that she would hesitate a moment in getting rid of a witness who would have exposed her to everlasting vexation ?

Mirovitch was the only person condemned to death. The soldiers whom he had engaged to join him in the intended rescue were punished with various degrees of severity. Pishkoff, who was considered as the most guilty, was sentenced to run the gantlet twelve times through a line of a thousand men. The three corporals and the two fuziliers, seduced after Pishkoff, were flogged ten times along the same line ; after which they were put to the public works, with a log chained to their leg. The other soldiers who acted under the orders of Mirovitch were likewise whipped through the ranks ; and after being incorporated in other regiments, were sent into distant garrisons. Tschevarideff was degraded

degraded from his rank of officer, for having heard without revealing the vague confidential communications of Mirovitch. Fifty-eight persons were punished. A great appearance of severity was exercised against them ; and this, among other circumstances, was calculated to obviate any suspicions that might arise concerning any more eminent instigators of their crime.

C H A P. V.

Discontents at Petersburg.—Misunderstanding between the counts Gregory Orloff and Panin.—Vissensky becomes favourite of the empress.—Resignation of the chancellor Vorontzoff.—Prince Radzivil at the head of the confederates.—The bishop of Cracow carried off.—The duke de Choiseul incites the Turks to declare war against Russia.—Treaty entered into by the empress with England.—Tournament at Petersburg.—Reform of the courts of justice.—Convocation of deputies from all the provinces of the empire.—Wise reply of the Samoyèdes.—Wicked attempt of Tschoglokoff.—Travels of several learned men in the interior of Russia.—Academical institutions.—Inoculation of the empress and the grand duke, with other events from 1764 to 1768.

THE beneficial effects of Catharine's regulations and establishments for the internal administration of government were every day becoming more apparent in all parts of Russia. That vast empire, rendered more compact, better regulated, more simply organised, animated with a new spirit, must naturally have a

powerful influence on the commerce, on the finances, the politics, nay even on the existence of the other nations of the earth: and it certainly had. The time was past when foreign cabinets, with a sort of assurance of effect, could direct affairs, give birth to resolutions, and put a stop to proceedings at Petersburg; the government displayed that spirit of independence which became so great a monarchy: on the contrary, the question was now, how Catharine was acting, and what she was purposing in regard to all that the princes and republics, from the Memel to the Tagus, were meditating and transacting. A sagacious historian, who is certainly no flatterer of despots, says of the late empress of Russia, to which every one must subscribe, "The volumes of modern history can produce no reign like this: for no monarch has ever yet succeeded in the attainment of such a dictature in the grand republic of Europe, as Catharine II. now holds; and none of all the kings who have heretofore given cause to dread the erection of an universal monarchy, seem to have had any knowledge of her art; to present herself with the pride of a conqueror in the most perilous situations, and with an unusual, a totally new dignity in the most common trans-

" transactions. And it is manifestly not alone
" the supreme authority which here gives law,
" but the judgment which knows when to
" shew that authority, and when to employ
" it *."

Theoretical politicians, indeed, and statistical calculators, have pretended to affirm, that this complaisance of the rest of Europe has been shewn without reason; and that the assumption that the power of Russia is so formidable is one of those that are only admitted upon trust. But the consequence seems here demonstrable, if anywhere in a case like this: whoever undertakes many things, and performs all that he undertakes, is probably still able to undertake and to perform more. Whoever, just at the time when the politician has calculated that he is reduced to his last soldier and his last ruble, appears with a formidable army, and disposes of millions with magnanimous prodigality, cannot be yet at the extremity of his forces or his wealth. And (what is completely decisive) whoever, in the grand european republic, at the time when a Frederic and a Joseph, when the intriguing

* M. Spittler, in his "Sketch of the History of the Governments of Europe," part ii. p. 420.

French and the enterprising Britons compose the senate of that republic, can hold the dictatorship, is surely born to be dictator, is endowed with all the qualities requisite to that end: the power, the art, and the judgment. This will apply to Catharine. In her were united what the world has seldom seen together. From merely physical power many things may afford security; but the superiority of mind, the refinement of policy, is capable of reaching lengths, of which the former will fall short.—Whom she favoured with her esteem and friendship, never advanced farther to confidence, but remained in a respectful, almost dependent situation. Whoever incurred her wrath, she could so place before all Europe, that the effects of it were no longer beheld as a hostile contention between two equal potentates, but as the chastisement of a felon.—When she issued her commands, it was in the sweet accents of righteousness and peace. However her passions were excited, she yet remained tranquil, till the proper maturity ensured the event; and thus her actions acquired the distinctive marks of irresistible majesty. But never yet has a monarch understood, like her, how to be bountiful exactly at the fittest time, and to make presents with such significance as to fix the gratitude of the receiver,

Seiver, and to acquire the veneration that is due to a beneficent deity *.

While Catharine was giving law to Poland, amusing Austria, conciliating the friendship of Prussia, and treating with England, she was also tampering with the other courts of Europe, and labouring efficaciously towards very soon making herself dreaded by them. She exerted herself to the utmost in giving new spirit to the commerce of her country, in augmenting her navy, and above all in softening the manners of her people, as yet not far advanced in civilization. But, badly seconded by the great personages of the empire, and even by such as were about her, the progress of her institutions was at

* We will take the liberty of making here one other extract from Spittler's work, concerning the interference of Russia in the affairs of Poland :—“ It was an ingenious contrivance, “ formed in a truly roman style, and completed accordingly: “ Not only a numerous and free nation was to be deprived of “ its liberty and national subsistence, but all Europe was to “ be lulled asleep. The annexations of Lewis XIV. were a “ trifling busines in comparison of what Catharine II. per- “ formed in Poland and against that country. But what “ loud and violent cries were raised against the former; and “ in what soft murmurs did the voice of truth repeat the “ ancient law of nations, when there seemed to be no longer “ any law between Russia and Poland? &c.” See Spittler's work on the governments of Europe, p. 423.

first but slow. The spirit of division continued to reign in Petersburg. The outrages that were to be prevented or punished, always made it necessary for Catharine to keep well with the conspirators to whom she was indebted for the throne: but the favours she was incessantly heaping on that greedy and insolent crew, were so many additional sources of hatred and discontent. Some new plot or conspiracy was forming every day; and every day the good fortune of the empress, or rather her prudence, delivered her from danger. Punishments were secret and terrible. The authors of one plot could but rarely undertake a second.

What most afflicted the empress was the misunderstanding that prevailed between her favourite and her chief minister, because the devotedness and audacity of the one were not less useful to her than the name and abilities of the other. Panin had certainly considerable imperfections; but he was the only one who had a true notion of business. His cold imagination, his melancholy, his pride, his obstinacy, and above all his indolence, were highly displeasing to Catharine: but she did ample justice to his talents, and continued to give him her confidence. Besides, though the empress was not satisfied

satisfied with him, he had the art of revising his opinions, when he found them disagreeable to her.

The influence of Orloff was founded on a different basis: but he used it without discretion, and was continually lessening its stability. No longer employing those assiduities which were the only means in his power of securing the favour he enjoyed, and even negligent of his usual attendance at court, absenting himself for several weeks together for pursuing the chace of the bear, and indifferent to the amusements of the palace, if ever any warmth of attachment subsisted, it must naturally now subside, and decline into perfect indifference.

Panin, remarking this conduct, thought he might improve it to bring on the dismission of the arrogant favourite. Perceiving that the empress frequently beheld with complacency a young officer, named Vissensky, thenceforward he put in practice every thing he could devise to encourage the inclination. Vissensky was soon admitted into favour; and, directed by the artful minister, behaved in such a manner as to give reason to believe that Orloff would soon be discarded. But the latter, who was not willing to lose his consequence, made a sudden alteration in his conduct, and by that means pre-

served his station. The new favourite was dismissed with brilliant presents, and an employment that fixed him in one of the remoter provinces.

Though Panin enjoyed great interest and a high respect, with the advantages accruing from his post of governor to the grand duke and his title of minister, the return of the chancellor Vorontzoff, whose functions he performed *ad interim*, gave him uneasiness. Jealous to preserve his authority entire, and the splendor of a representation which was of great value to him, he humbled himself so far as to flatter the favourite, whose downfall he had been endeavouring to procure. Orloff was not of an impracticable temper. Always recollecting with bitterness the steps which the chancellor had taken to prevent him from sharing in the throne, he requested the empress to keep him away from the management of affairs; and he became the apologist for an enemy less bold, but more artful. Catharine accosted the chancellor with extreme coldness. Instead of replacing him in the functions of minister, as at his departure she had given him reason to hope, she caused it to be suggested to him that it would not be taken amiss if he were to resign a place which he could no longer fill to the satisfaction of his sovereign.

sovereign. The chancellor hesitated for some time: but at length the advice of his friends prevailed. He seemed voluntarily to resign what was actually taken from him. His resignation was accepted with expressions of regret, which were not more sincere than his wishes for retirement; and, in order to convince him of the secret joy his compliance gave, he was presented with a gratuity of 50,000 rubles and a pension of 7000.

Among the numberless means employed by Catharine for detecting the authors of the plots that were perpetually disturbing her repose, she did not neglect the interception of the correspondence of the foreign ministers. That of the agent* of France was sold to her. She even succeeded in procuring a duplicate of his cypher; and she thought she perceived in his letters, if not the adherence to the machinations of the conspirators, at least the knowledge of all the mysterious affairs that were carrying on among the people about her. Her pride was hurt at this discovery; her resentment against the court of Versailles increased; and the cold reception she gave to the agent of that court

* Berenger, who had the title of chargé d'affaires.

reduced him to the necessity of making his retreat*.

Lewis XV. then sent to Petersburg the marquis de Beausset †, a man of great vanity and but small capacity, to whom the ministers of Catherine complained heavily of the chargé d'affaires his predecessor. But, as Beausset was unac-

* That princess, surmising afterwards that Voltaire might have learnt some of the facts contained in the correspondence of the agents of his nation, wrote to that celebrated genius in such a manner as to dissuade him from giving credit to them, if he were acquainted with the business, and to inform him of nothing if he were not. "All your countrymen," she writes to him, "do not entertain the same sentiments of me as you do. I know some who wish to persuade themselves that it is impossible for me to do any thing that is good; who put their invention to the rack to persuade others to think so likewise; and woe to their emissaries if they dare to think otherwise than as they are taught. I have candour enough to believe it an advantage which they give me over them, because whoever only knows facts from the mouth of his flatterers, knows them but badly, sees them in a false light, and acts in consequence. Since, however, my fame does not depend on them, but entirely on my principles, on my actions, I comfort myself, as well as I can, in not obtaining their approbation. As a good christian, I forgive them; and I pity those who envy me."

† He was presented to the empress the 1st of May 1765,

quainted

quainted with the true cause of these complaints, he paid them but little attention, and took no precautions to prevent their being renewed against him. He even thought they were only to be ascribed to the blind jealousy which the glory of the french nation excited in the empress; so far from it, that her ambition was striving to usurp the esteem and draw upon her the praises of that nation. She corresponded with Voltaire and d'Alembert. She made an offer to the latter of the place of governor to the grand duke, with a salary of 24,000 livres, and all conveniences for finishing the Encyclopédie at Petersburg; advantages which the philosopher thought proper to refuse*. Being informed that Diderot was not in good circumstances, and was desirous of selling his library to enable him to portion out his daughter; she bought that library, left it in his own possession, and settled on him a handsome appointment as the librarian of it. Some time previous to this, she had sent to Morand, the famous surgeon, a collection of gold and silver medals which had been struck in Russia, as a testimony of her satisfaction with the anatomical subjects and chirurgical instruments which he had procured for her. Almost

* See the appendix to the former volume, No. IV.
P. 470.

all the men of letters and the most distinguished artists of Paris received some proofs of her munificence, and admiring her bounties, forgetting or unacquainted with her frailties,

They swelled with lies the hundred trumps of Fame.

In the mean time the secret design proposed by that princess in crowning count Ciolek Poniatofsky began to unfold. Thinking herself secure of the entire submission of that monarch, she put off all constraint, and openly avowed the designs which even policy had made it a crime in the Poles to have imputed to her. Her pretensions were, doubtless, extravagant: but, as she was desirous that they should not be useless, she only declared them when on the point of marching the troops that were destined to support them, and proposed nothing but in an imperious tone. After having traced out on the map the lines of demarcation, by which Russia purloined a great part of the territory of Poland, Catharine insisted on the recognition of the validity of these lines, and that the limits of the two countries should thus be fixed. She exacted, farther, that the king and the republic should contract with her a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive, and that they should allow the dissidents to enjoy all the same rights with

the catholics, not excepting that of a capacity for being members of the senate. The last of these demands, the only one that was equitable, raised the indignation of an intolerant and despotic nobility. Murmurs were now heard on all sides: mention was made of having recourse to arms. Whether he was really ashamed of the sacrifices that were prescribed to his recognition, or rather afraid of putting the nation in a ferment, the king himself declared that he could not consent to these sacrifices. But in order to be the better able to form a judgment of the pretexts with which Catharine covered her ambition, it will be necessary to understand what the polish dissidents were.

Poland was originally circumscribed within very narrow bounds. The inhabitants, between the 9th and 10th centuries, adopted the christian religion as it was then professed by the church of Rome. About the same time many of the neighbouring provinces, which were then independent states, at different periods embraced that worship according to the ritual of the Greeks. In process of time, many of these neighbouring states, either by conquest, by right of succession, by marriage, or by compact, became united to the kingdom of Poland; upon all which accessions the new provinces were upon

an

an exact equality with the old in every respect, and each observed their own peculiar modes of worship.

Of all these accessions, that which fell to it by the marriage of Yagellon, grand duke of Lithuania, with the daughter and heiress of Lewis king of Poland, in 1386, was the largest and most considerable. By this event the grand duchy of Lithuania, together with the provinces of White-Russia, Podlachia, Volhinia, Podolia, and shortly afterwards Red-Russia, became annexed to the kingdom of Poland; with this distinction, that the union between the kingdom and the grand duchy depended only on the continuance of the line of the Yagellons, that family being the natural sovereigns of Lithuania. The inhabitants of all these provinces were of the greek religion, as well as those of Moldavia, Vallachia, and the Ukraine, which were added to the kingdom by the successors of Yagellon: so that by these great accessions, the members of the greek church became at that time far superior, both in numbers and power, to those of the roman catholic persuasion. It was thought a happiness peculiar to Poland, that, while other countries have at different times been a prey to intestine feuds and rancour on the score of the religion of Christ, the great variety of opinions

on

on that subject never produced any strife or animosity among the people of this nation.

The reformation made very early progress in Poland, and the majority of the senators and nobility became members either of the lutheran or calvinistic communions. To prevent therefore any mischiefs that might arise from these differences of religion, Sigismund Augustus passed a law at the diet of Vilna, on the 16th of June 1563, declaring that all those of the equestrian and noble orders, whether of lithuanian or russian extraction, should enjoy equal rights, provided they profess the christian religion. This he afterwards confirmed at the diet of Grodno, in 1568, adding, to prevent all misconstructions in favour of any party, that it was to be understood of every such person, of whatever christian communion or confession he be.

Under favour of this toleration protestantism made rapid advances in Poland. By this wise act of Sigismund Augustus, all sects, whether protestant, greek or arian, enjoyed the full liberty of exercising their worship, and the right of voting in the diets and of holding the same offices as the catholics. None were at the time offended by this act of justice: on the contrary, all were glad to see that the difference of religion produced

duced none in the political and civil rights of the several members of the community. As a distinction among themselves, the followers of the different modes of worship were called dissidents: but that name, which has since been made a signal for proscription, had nothing then injurious in it; and the successors of Sigismund Augustus, when they swore to observe the *pacta conventa*, swore also to preserve peace among the dissidents *. When Henry de

Valois

* It appears, from the very beginning of the republic; that the term *dissidents* equally comprehended the greeks, catholics, reformed, and lutherans. The words of that famous constitution which was passed by the diet, which formed the republic in the year 1573, are, *Nos qui sumus dissidentes in religione*, i. e. We who differ in religious matters. In the same constitution it is declared, that they will acknowledge no man for king or sovereign, “ who shall not “ confirm by oath all the rights, privileges, and liberties, “ which they now enjoy, and which are to be laid before “ him after the election. Particularly, he shall be bound “ to swear, that he will maintain the peace among the diffi- “ dents in points of religion.” In the constitutions of the same diet are the following remarkable stipulations: “ We “ will engage, in our own names, and in the names of our “ successors for ever, by the obligations of our oath, of our “ faith, of our honour, and of our consciences, to preserve “ peace among us who are dissidents in religion; to shed “ no blood, nor to inflict on any one the penalties of con- “ fiscation of goods, defamation, imprisonment, or exile, on
“ account

Valois * was elected king of Poland, he wanted to dispense himself from an oath that wounded his intolerant superstition: but his attempts were in vain. He must relinquish the crown or swear to protect the dissidents: he took the oath.

However, when the roman catholics, after the death of Sigismund III. had gained an evident superiority, they gave full scope to that fiery zeal by which they are made to believe that their religion is the only one that is good, and will not permit them to endure any other. They began by persecuting the arians, whose opinions had already made great progress; they proceeded to divest them of all their rights, and even to drive them out of Poland. The greek and protestant christians, who had assisted in persecuting the arians, were very soon punished for their imprudence. The catholics attacked them in their

" account of the difference of our faith, and rites in our
" churches. More than that, if any one should undertake,
" for the above reason, to shed the blood of his fellow-
" citizens, we should be all obliged to oppose him, even
" though he should shelter himself under the pretext of a
" decree, or any other judicial act."

* The bigoted and vicious Henry III. of France.

turn, and succeeded, in 1733, in entirely excluding them from the diets*.

The

* Upon the death of Sigismund Augustus, in 1574, the polish constitution was entirely changed, and the nation assumed the form of a republic. His grandfather Casimir III. was the first who convened the nobility, in order to oblige them to accept the new impositions: Sigismund and his father used the same method; but after his death the whole legislative authority fell into the hands of the nobility. At this period, we are told by their historians, the roman catholics in the kingdom did not bear a proportion in number to the greeks and reformed, of more than one to seven. The grand-marshall Firley, who convened the first diet of the republic, that diet which formed its present model, and made the crown elective, was a protestant. A perpetual peace betwixt the Greeks, the roman catholics, and the protestants, was therein established as a fundamental law of the republic. The wars in Germany under Charles V. and in France under Catharine de Medicis, made them sensible of the necessity they were under of tolerating each other. They therefore entered into an engagement of mutual defence and affection, and that a difference of religion should never prove the cause of civil dissension, unanimously resolving to make an example of that person who, under such a pretext, should excite disturbance. As this law has been repeated in all the public acts, constitutions, and pacta conventa, from that time to the present, it cannot but be allowed to be a fundamental law: nor can any other law be produced, whose sanction has been more solemnly, more constantly, and more frequently repeated. However, when the roman catholics, after the death of Sigismund III. had acquired

The humiliation they felt on being deprived of the right of suffrage, converted many of the Poles to catholicism. But if the dissidents diminished in numbers, those who remained were only so much the more attached to their sects. Against these proceedings they urged the treaty of Oliva, concluded in 1660, by which their privileges were secured, and of which so many potentates were the guarantees. The catholics, who ruled alone in the diets, and consequently might give ample range to their intolerance; without molestation or obstacle, procured a decree attaching the guilt of high treason to such dissidents as should have recourse to foreign powers for obtaining the execution of the treaty thus atrociously infringed, and the re-establishment of the laws so despotically repealed. This decree was the finishing stroke to the patience of the dissidents. Russia observed their indignation, and fanned it in secret. The greek dissidents

acquired a manifest superiority, though they did not think proper openly to controvert it, yet they shewed a disposition, when opportunity was favourable, to infringe it, by placing under their signatures, *salvis juribus ecclesiae romanae catholicae*, with a saving to the rights of the roman catholic church. Whereupon the dissidents, by way of reprisal, wrote under their signatures, *salva pace inter dissidentes*, with a saving to the peace amongst the dissidents.

then addressed themselves to the court of Petersburg. The protestants implored the intercession of those of London, Copenhagen, and Berlin. These courts promised to support them; and this was the most specious pretext for the military interference of Russia. This was the state of affairs at the close of the year 1765.

On the assembling of the diet on the 1st of September 1766, the ministers of the protecting courts presented their memorials in behalf of the dissidents, which excited a violent murmur. Soltyk, bishop of Cracow, a haughty and fanatical prelate, maintained that the dissidents had no right of appeal to privileges that were abolished, and that they had violated the constitution of the republic in having recourse to the intervention of foreign powers. Not satisfied with the iniquitous laws that had been passed against the dissidents, he moved for the enacting of new ones still more severe. His opinion was adopted by Maffalsky, bishop of Vilna, and a great majority of the nobles, who blindly confounded religious prejudices with political rights; and the opposition of some persons, more enlightened or more equitable, occasioned violent debates. The disorder rose to its height. The king attempted to deliver himself in favour of more moderate sentiments: he was abruptly reproached with being

being an abettor of the enemies of the state. He took the resolution to retire*. Several other sittings followed, not less scandalous than the former ; and the terrible laws enacted against the dissidents were imprudently confirmed. The ruffian troops now advanced to the gates of Warsaw. Prince Repnin demanded in the name of the empress, not only a toleration secured by law in behalf of the dissidents, but a complete political equality with the catholic party. This was rejected with a furious triumph. Nothing was now left for the dissidents, but what the constitution allowed, to confederate : this course they immediately adopted under the ruffian protection. Fear seemed for a moment to open the eyes of the diet. It thought to satisfy the empress by granting the dissidents somewhat more liberty in the exercise of their

* The bishop of Kief had already taken the liberty to say in an assembly, " that if they would take his advice, " they would have the king hanged ; as there were " still surely some men to be found among the Poles, char- " ritable enough to do the state that service." The same prelate afterwards proceeded from insolence to fury, so far as to tell the king to his face, in presence of all the court :—" I formerly used to pray to God for your prospe- " rity ; my prayer to him at present is, that he would send " you to the devil."

religion. But this palliative was not sufficient for Catharine. The dissidents, continuing to insist on an entire equality of rights, formed into divers confederations, which were presently joined by numbers of catholics, won over by Russia.

This was a lamentable time for Poland; parties and counter-parties, uniting and splitting again into others in the most unexampled manner. From grievances in religion political feuds arose; several of the discontented went over to the dissidents, without otherwise agreeing with them in opinion. A civil war raged now with all its horrors, and russian troops were every day entering the territories of the republic in greater numbers. A general confederation sprung up, composed of the most heterogeneous parts, united neither by a common understanding nor by the cement of affection: prince Charles Radzivil, who had been absent from the country, was their marshal. This prince had been one of the foremost of the opponents to the election of Poniatofsky; for which he had been obliged to quit the country, and suffer the confiscation of his property. He even affected more contempt than hatred towards him. He no sooner saw him abandoned by the Russians, than he united his confederation with those of the dissidents, and convened

convened the principal leaders of them in his palace in Warsaw, under the very eyes of the monarch.

1767. In this extremity Stanislaus Augustus, who felt the necessity of regaining the protection of Russia, assembled a diet extraordinary. This diet, however, but ill corresponded with his views. Notwithstanding the presence of the Russian army, and the haughty behaviour of prince Repnin, who lorded in Warsaw far more than the king himself, the bishop of Cracow and his adherents, as rash and fanatical as ever, had the presumption to make speeches against the dissidents, which common prudence, if not sound reason, should have advised them against. It was not long before they suffered for their folly. That very evening *, while the bishop was at table at count Minischeck's, the Russian colonel Igelstrom, followed by a detachment of soldiers, entered the room, in the name of the empress, and seized on the prelate, without meeting the smallest resistance from any that were present. Prince Repnin dictated to the diet the act of confirmation of the rights of the dissidents; and, to the utter astonishment of the Poles, who always boasted of their freedom, caused the

* The 13th of October.

furious opposers of that act in the diet, the bishop of Kief, the vayvode of Cracow, count Rjeursky, vayvode of Dolin, his eldest son *, and some other nobles, to be separately arrested in Warsaw, and, together with the bishop of Cracow, conducted to Siberia.

The day following this outrage, prince Repnin addressed to the confederates a note, in which he pretended that he had only violated the liberty of the Poles for the benefit of Poland †.

The

* The second son of count Rjeursky requested permission to accompany his father in bondage. He was answered, that they had no orders to arrest him.

† The declaration of prince Repnin delivered to the confederated estates was as follows : “ The troops of her imperial majesty, my sovereign, friends and allies of the confederated republic, have arrested the bishop of Cracow, the bishop of Kief, the vayvode of Dolin, &c. for having failed, by their conduct, in the respect that is due to the dignity of her imperial majesty, by attacking the purity of her salutary, disinterested, and amicable intentions in favour of the republic. The illustrious general confederation of the republic, of the crown, and of Lithuania, being under the protection of her imperial majesty, the undersigned notifies this to it, with positive and solemn assurances of the continuation of that high protection and of the assistance and support of her imperial majesty to the general confederation united for the preservation of the polish laws and liberties, with redress

“ of

The members of the diet sent up an address to the king, requesting him to demand the prisoners. The king immediately prayed prince Repnin to release them : but Repnin rejected it with disdain ; and they did not return from the desarts of Siberia till after an exile of six years *.

In the mean time the deliberations of the diet were carried on under the impulses of fear ; and after several useless sittings, a committee was nominated for settling the rights of the dissidents, in concert with the ministers of the patronising courts. They regularly applied for orders to prince Repnin, whose anti-chamber was the

“ of all the abuses that have crept into the government
 “ contrary to the fundamental laws of the country. Her
 “ majesty is only desirous of the welfare of the republic, and
 “ will not discontinue to grant it her assistance to the attain-
 “ ment of that end, without any interest or pecuniary con-
 “ sideration ; wishing for no other than the safety, the hap-
 “ pines, and the liberty of the polish nation, as that has
 “ been already clearly expressed in the declarations of her
 “ imperial majesty, which guarantee to the republic its
 “ actual possessions, as well as its laws, its form of govern-
 “ ment, and the prerogatives of each individual. Done at
 “ Warsaw, the 14th of October 1767.

(Signed) “ NICHOLAS prince REPNIN.”

* In the beginning of the year 1773.

report of the plenipotentiaries from Prussia, England, Denmark, and Sweden; and when the committee had received these orders, it made a report of them to the diet, who were careful not to contradict them. The dissidents therefore obtained whatever the Russian ambassador was pleased to demand in their behalf. The ancient laws to which they appealed were once more put in force; and others were enacted which were still more favourable to them. It was, however, nothing more than an act of justice, which had nothing against it but the manner in which it was performed. They had been arbitrarily abolished; it was therefore but right to restore them. The sole cause of affliction to the true friends of the liberty of Poland was a heap of regulations admitted by the orders of Catharine, tending to prolong the troubles and anarchy of that unhappy country, and to leave it for ever without defence against the usurpations which she had in contemplation.

A servile obedience had suddenly succeeded in Warsaw to the excesses of a proud independence. But this forced situation could not long continue. Murmurs were on all lips, and vengeance was in every heart. No sooner had the diet broke up, but the Catholic nobles were clamorous in their complaints on account of the

laws

laws promulgated in favour of the dissidents, and formed new confederations for the defence of the romish religion. The confederates had standards, on which were painted the virgin Mary and the infant Jesus: they, like the crusaders of the fifteenth century, wore crosses embroidered on their clothes; and, what was more ridiculous still, they put themselves under the protection of the Turks; and the disciples of Mohammed were preparing to fight in the cause that was called by the name of Christ.

Stanislaus Augustus, unable either to inspire confidence into his subjects, or to recover the friendship of the Russians, was the subject of accusation to all parties, and lived in his capital more like a prisoner than a king. Catharine might perhaps have pardoned him some moments of defection, but the influence of Orloff opposed it. Prince Repnin commanded like a despot in Warsaw; and, to flatter the favourite of his sovereign, he let no opportunity escape of humiliating a feeble and unfortunate king. We shall just cite one single fact to prove what little respect the Russian ambassador had for the Polish monarch. One evening that the king was at the theatre, the ambassador made it late before he came. As he did not appear, the curtain drew up, and the piece began. The performers were in

in the second act, when a sort of bustle being made in the ambassador's box, the king sent a page to know what was the matter. Answer was brought that prince Repnin was come, and was surprised to find that they had not waited for his arrival before the curtain was drawn up. The king ordered the curtain to be dropped, and the piece to begin again.

All Europe beheld with astonishment the conduct of the court of Russia. It was thought scarcely conceivable that Catharine should become, all at once, the enemy of a king whom she herself had put upon the throne. But what could the faint remembrance of an extinguished attachment prevail upon the heart of a princess, who was aiming, by imposing shackles on Poland, to domineer over the powers of the north, and to make herself formidable to those of the south?

She was sure that the king of Prussia desired nothing better than to share the polish provinces with her. She managed at her pleasure both Sweden and Denmark, the one by her intrigues, and the other by the hope she held out to it of the cession of Holstein. She flattered England by a treaty of alliance and commerce. All seemed to concur to favour her ambition.

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The duke de Choiseul, who, under the appearance of levity, concealed a deep and penetrating genius, and who perhaps was deficient in nothing, for being a great minister, but more constancy in his designs, and less propensity to dissipate the treasures of France, was the first who discovered the secret views of Catharine. He saw that the augmentation of power which she was about to acquire must have a natural tendency to diminish the consideration and influence of the court of Versailles. He resolved to attack the evil in its source, and, to defeat the projects of Russia by dissipating its means, he fell upon the design of involving it in a war with the ottoman porte..

That minister then made application to count de Vergennes, ambassador from France to Constantinople ; and after having stated to him the particulars of his apprehensions, exhorted him to second his projects. The duke de Choiseul was not ignorant either of the weakness and decline of the ottoman empire, nor the vices of a government which were the sole cause of that weakness : but he still thought it fit to give Russia employment for a good while to come ; and that, whatever might be the success of the war, he wished him to undertake it.

Vergennes

Vergennes administered with no less ability than zeal to the views of his court. A long residence in Turkey had supplied him with an intimate knowledge of the principal members of the divan, and the means of succeeding with it. He employed those means. He represented to the ottoman ministers how unjust and dangerous it was that Russia should dare to violate the rights of the Poles, and invade their territory. He convinced them that the demarcation of the limits exacted by the court of Petersburg would be attended with consequences fatal to the security of the Euxine ; and he advised them resolutely to oppose that demarcation *.

The Porte, whom the polish confederates had already petitioned for succour, immediately complied with the advice of Vergennes. The turkish ministry sent a note to the king of Poland, requesting that the regulation of the

* The duke de Choiseul had authorised M. de Vergennes to employ the most efficacious measures for inducing the Turks to declare war against Russia. " If you have any expectation to succeed, if you think it possible," he writes to him, " every necessary supply of money shall be transmitted to you." M. de Vergennes had the merit of wishing to employ no other means than those of persuasion. They were sufficient with him.

limits might be suspended till some explanations should be given him of a nature to remove his alarms concerning the danger with which the cession of the polish territory threatened the ottoman empire. But Stanislaus Augustus, who was for ever afraid of giving umbrage to Catharine, and who was desirous, whatever it might cost him, of regaining her friendship, answered the grand signor, that there was not the least proposal of altering the limits between Russia and Poland; and having received this assurance, the divan returned for some time into its accustomed apathy.

The court of Petersburg then * concluded a treaty of alliance and commerce with that of London; a treaty which extended the privileges of the English, lowered the duties of importation on their merchandize, and granted them great advantages. Her natural inclination for England, as well as the desire of securing additional succours in the war which she was meditating against the Turks, determined Catharine to seek the alliance of the court of London.

Just at this time, when Catharine was displaying her partiality in the most signal manner to the british nation, an affair of gallantry be-

* In the month of December.

tween the minister of the latter and one of the maids of honour became so public, that the empress could no longer pretend to be ignorant of it ; she therefore dismissed the guilty lady from her post, and forbade, for some time, the minister to appear at court.

The severity shewn on this occasion by Catharine formed doubtless a striking contrast with some parts of her own behaviour. It seems impossible that she could so strangely deceive herself as to imagine that the world was not aware of the indulgencies she permitted herself ; but it is nevertheless certain, that she sometimes put on, in the presence of those who knew her best, as great an austerity of manners as attachment to religion. Two ladies* of her court, one of whom had formerly been her confidante, being at a masquerade, were talking pretty loud concerning one of their admirers : the empress went up to them, and, with a stern countenance, ordered them to leave the ball-room, since they knew no better than to pay so little regard to decorum.

The distance Catharine often found it necessary to assume could neither be supposed to gain her the affection of her courtiers, nor to contri-

* Madame Narishkin and Madame Goloffskin.

bute to restore tranquillity to the empire. Princess Dashkoff had been, for the second time, banished to Mosco. That young lady, who seemed to find her greatest pleasure in braving dangers, revenged herself for the ingratitude she thought she experienced, by revealing the crimes of the conspiracy in which she had acted a principal part, and in fomenting the discontents against the empress. Without esteeming princess Dashkoff, many persons partook in her resentments; and the poison of sedition, artfully mingled by her, was making new progress from day to day.

Being informed of the murmurs at Mosco, Catharine feigned to despise them, and resolved to suppress them by her presence. But as the severity of the winter would scarcely permit her to take a long journey, she endeavoured, in the mean time, to divert the disaffected by the tumult of the pleasures she contrived for the court. The inhabitants at St. Petersburg now saw two or three tournaments, at which the ruf-sian courtiers, arrayed in the habits and the armour of the ancient knights in the days of chivalry, displayed more magnificence than gallantry, and greater strength than dexterity. These shows, which were continued for several days, were beheld with general disapprobation, as frivolous and expensive.

In the amphitheatre erected on purpose for the occasion were two superb boxes, for the empress and the grand duke. In the centre of the arena was raised a throne, whereon sat the grand judge of the exercises, surrounded by forty officers, four heralds at arms, and two trumpets for the purpose of giving signals. Besides these, at four several places, all equally distant from the circus, were kettle-drums and trumpets, making warlike music during the whole time of the carouzel. In short, nothing was neglected that could contribute to the magnificence and effect of the exhibition.

The dames and knights of the tournaments were divided into four quadrilles or troops of horse, representing combatants of four different nations: Sclavonians, Turks, Indians, and Romans; all perfectly observing the customs of those nations, in their dress and ornaments, in their chariots, in their music, and attendants; and were all, ladies and knights, adorned with such a profusion of gold and silver, pearls, and precious stones, on their gorgeous dresses of velvet, silks, feathers, and ermine, that they might truly be said * to

“ Shine with the wealth of Ormus and of Ind,
“ Or what the gorgeous east, with richest hand,
“ Showers on her kings, barbaric pearl and gold.”

* With a slight alteration from Milton.

But that of the Romans, led on by count Gregory Orloff, was brilliant beyond description. The dress of his brother count Alexey Orloff, chief of the turkish cohort, was likewise particularly splendid.

The four quadrilles rode in great pomp through the principal streets of the city, previous to their assembling in the circus.

The ladies of the court jested at these tournaments, as well as the chevaliers. Tilting at the ring, cutting off the heads of ferocious animals and Saracens, artificially represented, then tossing up the head and catching it on the point of the sabre, letting off a pistol at a shield, with a variety of achievements of a similar nature, all performed at full gallop and exactly in time with the music, formed the other parts of this magnificent entertainment.

When the carouzel, which had been repeated with considerable variations for several days, was ended, and the company were drawn up in their respective troops, the famous marshal count Munich, who had been appointed grand judge of the field, previous to decreeing the prizes, delivered the following speech, which shews that the veteran soldier was not unacquainted with the art of flattery :

“ Illustrious ladies and chevaliers,
“ None of you is ignorant that not a single
“ day passes, not a single moment, in which we
“ do not behold the attention of our most
“ gracious sovereign, towards augmenting the
“ splendour of her empire, towards enlarging the
“ sphere of the happiness of her subjects in
“ general, and towards adding in particular to
“ the lustre of her nobility.

“ That incomparable sovereign has made
“ choice of this grand day, for giving the prime
“ nobility of her empire an opportunity for
“ signalizing their address and agility in the
“ martial exercises of a brilliant carouzel, and
“ such as has never yet been seen in Russia.
“ Who does not share with me the sentiments
“ of admiration and gratitude so justly due to
“ her majesty for this act of goodness and
“ maternal care?

“ Illustrious ladies and chevaliers, you have
“ acquitted yourselves, in these noble exercises,
“ in a manner worthy of your birth, and adapted
“ to give you the assurance of having merited
“ the gracious regard of her majesty, the favour
“ of monseigneur the grand duke, and universal
“ applause.”

Then,

Then, turning towards countess Boutturlin *, who had gained the principal prize, and which was valued at 5000 rubles, he said,

“ It is to you, madam, to whom her imperial majesty authorizes me to present the principal prize, the acquisition of an uncommon dexterity and grace which have won the suffrages of all beholders. Permit me, madam, to be the first to congratulate you on that honourable distinction, which confers on you the right of distributing with your victorious hands, the rest of the prizes to the ladies and the chevaliers.

“ As for me, become hoary under arms during a space of sixty-five years of service †; I, the most aged in years as well as the oldest general in Europe; after having had the glory of leading the russian armies more than once to victory; I regard, as the recompence and the crown of all my toils, the honour to have been this day, not only the witness, but the first umpire of your resplendent exploits.”

After this the company, to the amount of some hundred persons, sat down to a splendid

* Countess Boutturlin was sister to princess Dashkoff and countess Elizabeth Romanovna Vorontzoff, the favourite of Peter III.

† He was at that time 84 years of age.

supper, the dessert at the conclusion of which admirably represented the circus wherein the carouzel had been performed. All the imperial summer-gardens were illuminated throughout, the walks lighted with numerous arches of lamps burning with naphtha, temples of one general radiance, illuminated fountains, and magnificent fireworks ; the whole festival terminating with a masquerade in these gardens, which continued till day-light the following morning,

But Catharine knew also how best to employ more worthy means for establishing her authority. She still busied herself in making reforms and the erection of useful institutions. She corrected the tribunals, she founded schools, she built hospitals, and planted colonies. She endeavoured to infuse into her people a love for the laws, and to soften their manners by instruction. Jealous of a power that knew no bounds, greedy of every species of glory, she was determined to be at once both conqueror and legislatrix. Amidst conspiracies formed for overturning her throne, occupied with preparations for war, which seemed sufficient to arrest her whole attention, and yet finding time for attachments of gallantry, she was unmindful of nothing that could attract the reverence of mankind, and captivate their admiration.

There

There was at that time no country where the jurisprudence was more perplexed and uncertain than in Russia. The intricate code of Alexèy Michailovitch, compiled that it might serve as the basis to legislation, was, if not abrogated, at least contradicted by the numerous edicts of his successors, which were always dictated by the interest or the caprice of the moment. The senate; the colleges, all the tribunals of the empire, embarrassed by so many authorities and such opposite laws, protracted causes without end, or terminated them without justice. To these evils a greater yet was added, the venality of the judges and their unlimited power*.

Catharine resolved to apply a remedy to all these disorders. She prosecuted what she had begun in the senate and in the colleges by forming them into separate departments, which, having each but one line of business, could necessarily proceed in a more regular course, execute their business with much greater dispatch, and give fewer openings to artifice and chicane. In order then to deprive the judges of all pretext or excuse for either negligence

* The lowest judge, who frequently had never learnt to read, used arbitrarily to put culprits to the torture to extort confession, and condemn a man to the knot, or to be banished into Siberia.

or prevarication, she augmented the emoluments of their offices, a means unhappily insufficient, but which proves that Catharine was well acquainted with the spirit of the nation which she governed. Indeed, if the magistrates had been possessed of any virtue, would it not be rather from the sentiment of reputation, than by pecuniary recompences, that they would have been stimulated to justice? The empress therefore put in motion that spring which she thought would act with the greatest force upon them. She tells them in the ukause she published on the occasion:—“ Indigence may perhaps hitherto have given you a propensity to self-interest; but now the country itself rewards your labours, and therefore what might heretofore have been pardonable, will henceforward be criminal.”—

Catharine did more than augment the salaries of the judges; she secured to them an appointment of half-pay for that season of life when age and infirmities should oblige them to retire.

These primary matters being arranged, the empress set herself to work on a new code.

All the provinces of Russia, not excepting the barbarous nations who dwell in the remotest parts of that vast empire, had orders to send deputies to Mosco, to present their ideas on the laws

laws that were the fittest for their peculiar exigencies. Catharine herself repaired to that antient capital. The opening of the states was held with extraordinary pomp. It was surely an interesting and novel transaction, to see deputies of numerous people, different in their manners, their dress, their languages ; and they themselves must have been astonished at being here thus assembled for discussing their laws, people who had never thought about law but to obey the arbitrary will of a master, whom it often happened that they did not know.

The empress, desirous to leave this assembly the appearances of the completest liberty, had a sort of gallery constructed in the hall in such manner, that, without being perceived, she could see and hear all that passed. The business was begun by reading the instructions translated into the russian language, the original whereof, in french, almost entirely in the hand-writing of Catharine, has since been deposited, enclosed in a magnificent case of silver gilt, in an apartment of the imperial academy of sciences at St. Petersburg.

" The sovereigns of Russia possessed the most extensive dominions of the world, and every thing was yet to be done : at last," says M. de

Voltaire*, "Peter was born, and Russia was
"formed;" that is, doubtless, to say, that at this
period it arose out of chaos. The bare idea of
making it was grand, and its execution might
justly excite astonishment. Tzar Alexèy Mi-
chailovitch, his father, had already sketched out
the work, and it must be confessed that Peter
advanced it to a surprising degree. To leave
his country, that he might return to govern
it with greater glory; to go and seek light in all
parts where it enlightened mankind; to submit
for several years to be the disciple of other
nations, in order to become the master and the
reformer of his own; to work as a simple carpen-
ter at Saardam, to prepare himself for creating a
navy that should be formidable to his enemies;
to lower himself to a common soldier, in order to
become a great commander; to form on all
hands establishments of great utility, till then
unknown to his subjects; to attack at once all the
abuses both in church and state, in the manners
and customs that had been most sanctioned by
inveterate habit; to extend reformation and
care to every particular that was deserving of
them; to temper the severity of his discipline by
the total abolition of the word slave; to mix

* History of the Russian empire, vol. i. p. 74.

pomp

pomp with toil, and annex prosperity to triumphs; all together characterised him as the great genius, the great man, and the great monarch.

But if that prince, so justly renowned to all posterity, polished his country in so many respects; if he made regulations, worthy of admiration and praise, with all this he framed no permanent laws, and much less a system of legislation that should embrace all objects. That great work * was left for Catharine II. She alone conceived the grand idea of undertaking it, and she alone had the courage to put it in execution. A code of laws, and especially laws founded on wisdom, is the noblest present that can be made to a people: no woman had yet been a legislatrix; and that part the empress of Russia resolved to act.

The reading of the instructions was frequently interrupted by bursts of applause. All present extolled the sagacity, the wisdom, the humanity of the sovereign. But fear and flattery had a greater share in these exclamations than an admiration proceeding from a just knowledge of the matter. They hoped, perhaps, by that means

* This work may be chiefly taken from the writings of Montesquieu, and several others of the french philosophers; but it must always redound to the glory of Catharine that she had the liberality of mind to draw from such sources.

to attract the favour of the empress, or at least to escape Siberia. The deputies of the Samoyedes alone had the courage to speak freely. One of them stood up in the name of his brethren, and said,—“ We are a simple and honest people. “ We quietly tend our rein-deer. We are in “ no want of a new code : but make laws for the “ Russians, our neighbours, that may put a stop “ to their depredations.”

The following sittings did not pass so quietly. Much had been said about giving liberty to the boors. Some thousands of this oppressed class of beings were preparing to support by force what they expected from equity. The nobility dreaded an insurrection : they dreaded, above all, a defalcation of their revenues ; and some nobles were rash enough to assert, that they would poignard the first man who should move for the affranchisement of the vassals *. Notwithstanding this, however, count Scheremetoff, the richest individual of all Russia †, got up, and declared that he would willingly agree to this affranchisement. The debate was carried on

* This fact has been several times attested by Andrew Schuvaloff, known in France by his pretty epistle to Ninon.

† Potemkin was not as yet favourite. Count Scheremetoff possessed an annual income of 170,000 pounds sterling. He had belonging to him 150,000 peasants.

with great warmth, which grew to such a height that fatal consequences were to be apprehended; and the deputies were dismissed to their respective provinces.

However, previous to the dissolution of this assembly, the members were required to signalize the meeting by some conspicuous act of gratitude. It was thought right that, though the benefit that was intended for the subjects should be lost to them, it ought not to be so to the sovereign, who had conceived the noble idea of it. Accordingly, by a general acclamation, the titles of Great, Wise, Prudent, and Mother of the Country, were decreed to that princess; but when she was petitioned to accept of those titles, she answered, with an assumed modesty, " That if she had rendered herself worthy of the first, it belonged to posterity to confer it upon her; that wisdom and prudence were the gifts of heaven, for which she daily gave thanks, without presuming to derive any merit from them herself; that, lastly, the title of mother of the country was the most dear of all in her eyes, the only one that she could accept, and which she regarded as the most benign and glorious recompence for her labours and solicitudes in behalf of a people whom she loved."

Proud

Proud of the work which had obtained her such flattering marks of homage, Catharine eagerly dispatched copies of her instructions to the sovereigns whose approbation she most coveted. They complimented her on her laborious enterprise, and made no hesitation to pronounce that it would be an eternal monument to her glory. The king of Prussia, who knew how sensible she was to praise, and who was always lavish of it with less delicacy than ease, wrote to her a long letter, which, among other things, contained this flattering observation : " No woman has hitherto been a legislatrix. That glory was reserved for the empress of Russia, who well deserves it."

The empress received this letter at Kasan, having had a desire to visit her provinces in Asia, and the famous shores of the Volga. The letter was couched in the following terms :

" Madam, my sister,

" I must begin by thanking your imperial majesty for the favour you have conferred upon me in the communication of your work on legislation. Permit me to say, that it is a business which has had but few examples in the world ; and I may venture to add, madam, that your imperial majesty is the first empress who has made such a present as that which I have just now received. The antient Greeks, who were all appretiatiors of merit, in their deifications of great men, assigned the first place to legislators, whom they deemed the true benefactors of

" the

" the human race. They would have placed your imperial majesty between Lycurgus and Solon.

" I made it my first duty, madam, to read the excellent work which your majesty has vouchsafed to compose ; and, that I might keep my mind free from all prepossession, I considered it as coming from a well-known pen. I confess to you, madam, that I was charmed, not only with the principle of humanity and gentleness that give birth to these laws, but also with the order, with the association of ideas, with the uncommon clearness and precision that reign in this work, and the immense variety of knowledge disseminated throughout.

" I put myself, madam, in your place, and I immediately perceived that every country demands particular considerations, which require the legislator to comply with the genius of the nation, in the same manner as the gardener accommodates himself to his foil. There are designs which your imperial majesty is satisfied with pointing out, and on which your prudence prevents you from insisting. In a word, madam, though I am not thoroughly acquainted with the genius of the people whom you govern with so much glory, I see enough of it to persuade me, that if they govern themselves by your laws, they will be the happiest nation in the world ; and since your imperial majesty is desirous of knowing all that I think on that matter, I deem it a duty incumbent on me to tell it naturally.

" It is, madam, that good laws, formed on the principles that you have traced out, will require lawyers for their being put in execution in your vast domains ; and I think, madam, that, after the good you have just been doing in legislation, you have another boon to grant, which is the institution of an academy of law, for the education of persons designed for the bar, as well judges

" as

“ as advocates. However simple the several laws may be, cases of litigation, cases complicated and obscure, will arise, in which it will be necessary to draw up truth from the well, which require expert advocates and judges to unravel them.

“ This, on my honour, is all that I have to say to your imperial majesty, unless it be, madam, that this estimable monument of your labour and your activity, with which you condescend to trust me, shall be preserved as one of the choicest pieces in my library. Were there any thing, madam, capable of augmenting my admiration, it would be the benefit you have herein bestowed upon your immense people.

“ Accept, with your accustomed goodness, the assurances of the high consideration with which I am,

“ Madam, my sister,

“ Your imperial majesty’s good brother and ally,

(Signed) “ FREDERIC.”

Count Solms, minister of the king of Prussia, on sending this letter to count Panin, wrote him a note to the following purport: “ I hasten to transmit to your excellency the letter which the king my master has had the honour to compose, in answer to that with which her imperial majesty was graciously pleased to accompany the present of her instruction for the formation of the new code in Russia, ordering me to cause it to be presented to her imperial majesty. He subjoins, with his own hand, in the dispatch which he has addressed to me: “ I have read with admiration the work of the empress. I was not

" not willing to tell her all that I think of it,
" because she might have suspected me of flattery ; but I may say to you, with due deference to modesty, that it is a masculine performance, nervous, and worthy of a great man. We are told by history, that Semiramis commanded armies. Queen Elizabeth has been accounted a good politician. The empress-queen has shewn great intrepidity on her accession to the throne; but no woman has ever been a legislatrix. That glory was reserved for the empress of Russia, who deserves it."

It certainly redounds much to the praise of Catharine, that these instructions are founded on the principles of an enlightened humanity; and that, though autocratrix and of unlimited power, she recognizes no legitimate authority but that which is founded on justice; every particular in her laws has a tendency to enervate despotism, and to render a just authority respectable. Her purpose is to form a solid, and not an arbitrary legislation. Her whole plan is directed to prevent all those who govern under her from exercising a capricious and cruel authority, by subjecting them to invariable laws, which no authority should be able to infringe.

The accomplishment of this grand design, however, did not proceed so easily as the first steps gave room to expect. Either it was found that the plan of a convocation of the nation by its deputies was beginning at too high a pitch, and that in an assembly composed of such a diversity of tribes, manners, and tongues, it would be impossible to come to any common conclusions ; or the whole apparatus was used only as a machine, and suffered to fall when it had answered the end for which it was contrived.

A few articles in these instructions will suffice to shew the principles on which they are drawn up.

“ The spirit of the nation, the nation itself,
“ ought to be consulted in the framing of
“ laws.

“ These laws should be considered no other-
“ wise than as a means of conducting mankind
“ to the greatest happiness.

“ It is our duty to mitigate the lot of those
“ who live in a state of dependence.

“ The liberty and the security of the citizens
“ ought to be the grand and precious objects of
“ all laws ; they should all tend to render life,
“ honour, and property, as stable and secure
“ as the constitution of the government itself.

“ The

" The liberty of the subjects ought only to be
" restricted concerning what it would be dis-
" advantageous to them to do.

" In causes purely civil, the laws should be
" so clear and precise, that the judgments result-
" ing from them be always in perfect uniformity
" in the same cases; in order to remove that
" jurisprudence of decisions, which is so often a
" source of uncertainties, of errors, or acts of
" injustice, according as a cause has been well or
" ill defended at one time or at another, gained
" or lost according to influence or circum-
" stances."

We read with equal pleasure the instructions
she prescribes to be followed in the criminal
constitution:

" It is incomparably better to prevent crimes,
" than to punish them.

" The life of the meanest citizen is of conse-
" quence; and no one should be deprived of it,
" except when the country attacks it or requires
" it.

" In like manner his liberty should be re-
" spected, by being difficult about imprison-
" ment, by carefully distinguishing the cases
" where the laws will dispense with it, as also
" those in which the public safety requires arrest-
" ation, detention, or formal imprisonment,

“ and in this case even concerning different
“ prisons.

“ In the methods of trial, the use of torture
“ is contrary to sound reason. Humanity cries
“ out against this practice, and insists on its
“ being abolished.

“ A prisoner is not to be sacrificed to the tor-
“ rent of opinions. Judgment must be nothing
“ but the precise text of the law ; and the office
“ of the judge is only to pronounce whether the
“ action is conformable or contrary to it.”

Concerning punishments :

“ The aim of punishment is not to torment
“ sensible beings.

“ All punishment is unjust when it is not
“ necessary to the maintenance of the public
“ safety.

“ The atrocity of punishments is reprobated
“ by the compassion that is due to human na-
“ ture : whenever it is useless, it is a sufficient
“ reason to regard it as unjust, and, as such, to
“ reject it.

“ In the ordinary state of society, the death
“ of a citizen is neither useful nor necessary.”

All that follows under this head, touching the proportion that should be observed between crimes and punishments ; on the rarity of the cases where the crime deserves death ; on the rule

rule to be observed in confiscations, which the empress would not extend beyond acquired property, and a number of other ideas are such as could only proceed from goodness of heart and profound meditation. The whole amount of the articles of her instructions is in number 525; and the very publication and dispersion of the book throughout the empire has been attended with salutary effects. It was doubtless a great and arduous undertaking, and worthy of an exalted mind. The laws of this vast empire were voluminous to a degree of the greatest absurdity, were perplexed, insufficient, in many cases contradictory, and so loaded with precedents, cases, and opinions, that they afforded an eternal scene of altercation, and were scarcely to be reconciled or understood by the very professors of them. The particular laws of the different provinces were also continually interfering and clashing, and caused such confusion that the whole presented an endless chaos, and effaced almost every trace of original system or design. This augean stable the empress was determined to cleanse; and though the success of her patriotic attempt has not as yet been complete, yet, in consequence of it, a great simplification has taken place in the laws, and a milder and more impartial administration of justice.

The instruction of the empress is not a law-book itself. She only says, "Such regulations should be made.—In the first place, it should be examined, whether," &c. But what excellent suggestions are thus delivered, which certainly have produced, and must continue to produce, great effects. Thus we find it said, chap. xi. "Peter I. promulgated a law in 1722, "that persons who were not of sound mind, and "who oppress their serfs, should be put under "guardians. The former point of this law has "been kept up; why the latter is not enforced "is not known." Again, chap. xii. "It seems "too, that the new manner in which noblemen "exact their dues from the peasantry is hurtful "to population. There is scarcely a village "which does not pay certain tributes to its lord "in money. The lord, who never, or but "very rarely, fees his village, imposes on every "head a tax of one, two, and even to five rubles, "without concerning himself how the peasant is to pay that sum. It will be absolutely indispensable to prescribe laws to the nobility, "obliging them to act more circumspectly in "the manner of levying their dues, and to "require of the peasant tributes of such a nature "as shall remove him as little as possible from "his house and family. By this means agricul-
ture

"ture will be better followed; and the population of the empire be increased. At present, a labourer leaves his home at the age of fifteen, to go and seek his subsistence in distant towns; roams about the empire, and pays his dues annually from what he earns."

"If, for some political reason, it be not practicable to free the boors throughout the empire from their vassalage, yet means should be thought of to enable them to acquire property. In pursuance of this idea, should not a method be devised for gradually bettering the condition of this lower class of people?" Is not such language, which evinces so much sagacity and benevolence, the fittest for the mouth of a monarch who is desirous of making improvements, without undertaking the boisterous and intemperate part of an austere reformer? It is a great matter, if a prince shews that he understands the vices of the country, and knows how they may be remedied. Suppose even that nothing farther is done, must not every considerate spectator feel himself inclined to believe that this sagacity and this benevolence has met with difficulties which were absolutely not to be overcome? But such words are never lost: under Catharine much was effected by what she planned with prudent moderation. In some

places, however, she expresses herself decisively, and with command ; and wherever this is the case, the instruction retains the virtual force of a law.

The whole performance is an excellent compendium of choice observations, of just maxims, and of generous sentiments ; and at the same time a beautiful collection of striking passages from the celebrated philosophers of Greece and Rome, of apt examples from ancient and modern history, from the manners of cultivated and savage nations, and even from such nations as are not so well known to the rest of Europe, for instance, the Chinese and other Asiatics. Whoever would make himself acquainted with the philosophy of legislation, might reap considerable advantage by taking it as his manual.

In addition to the passages above cited from this work, as a specimen of the sentiments of Catharine, it will not be amiss to extract a few others, if it be only to shew, that upwards of thirty years ago a monarch delivered the best of those which, in the opinion of some, were first discovered by the republicans of the present day. A lofty philosophical station is taken in the 6th chapter : “ Several things rule over “ mankind, the religion, the climate, the laws, “ the maxims of government, the examples of “ things

“ things past, the manners, the customs, from
“ which, as the result, a public mind is formed.”
Elucidations of this maxim from the characteristics
of various nations succeed to this. Then, “ It is
“ the business of the legislator to follow the tem-
“ per of the nation; for we do nothing better than
“ what we do voluntarily, and in pursuance of our
“ natural disposition. For establishing a more
“ perfect legislation, it is necessary that the
“ minds of men should be previously prepared
“ for it. But in order to defeat the pretext
“ usually alleged, that it is not possible to do
“ good, because the minds are not yet disposed
“ to admit it, take the pains to prepare them for
“ it; this will be already a great step advanced.”
“ When it is intended to make great changes in a
“ nation, that may turn to its benefit, that which
“ has been established by laws should be reformed
“ by laws; and what custom has brought into
“ practice should be changed by custom; and it
“ is very bad policy to change by laws what ought
“ to be changed by custom.”

Chap. viii. of punishments. “ Examine with
“ attention into the cause of all relaxations, and
“ it will be seen that they arise from the impunity
“ of crimes, and not from the moderation of
“ punishments.” — “ It often happens that a
“ legislator, who intends to correct an evil, con-

“ fines his thoughts to that correction : his eyes
“ are open to that object, and shut to the incon-
“ veniencies attending it.”—Chap. ix. “ If you
“ consider the formalities of justice in regard to
“ the trouble a citizen has to obtain his right, or
“ to obtain satisfaction for some injury, you will
“ doubtless find it too great ; if you regard them
“ in the relation they bear to the liberty and
“ security of the citizens, you will often find it
“ too little, and you will see that the punish-
“ ments, the expences, the delays, even the
“ danger of the decision, are the price that
“ every citizen pays for his liberty.” Not to
be farther tedious, we will conclude with the
following: “ Would you prevent crimes ? Con-
“ trive that the laws favour less the different
“ orders of citizens, than each citizen in parti-
“ cular. Let men fear the laws, and nothing
“ but the laws. Would you prevent crimes ?
“ Provide that reason and knowledge be more
“ and more diffused among mankind. To con-
“ clude, the most sure, but the most difficult
“ method of making men better is by rendering
“ education more complete.” Nothing that
relates to government is left untouched in this
little book. The maxims of politics, of tol-
eration, and of justice, are thus loudly and pow-
erfully delivered from the throne, and have
thereby

thereby received, as it were, one sanction more.

Still proceeding on the same enlarged and enlightened plan which we have before had occasion to commend, the empress continued to cultivate and encourage the arts and sciences; to make her empire an asylum to the learned and ingenious; and to reform the manners and instruct the minds of the people, through the extent of its most distant provinces.

The transit of the planet Venus over the sun, which was to happen in the summer of 1769, added a new opportunity of shewing as well her munificence, as the attention she paid to astronomy. This great princess wrote a letter from Mosco with her own hand, to count Vladimir Orloff, director of the academy of sciences at Petersburg; wherein she desires the academy to inform her of the most proper places in her dominions for the making of those observations; with an offer to send workmen and artists, and to construct buildings in all those places which the academy may think proper for the purpose, and to grant every other assistance to the undertaking which it may require. She also desired, if there was not a sufficient number of astronomers in the academy to make observations in all the places required, to give her notice, that

that she might send a proper number of the officers of her marine, to qualify themselves under the eye of the professors in the academy, for that undertaking. Such is the extent of that vast empire, that the observations which were made, both on the transit and exit of this planet, the one in the frozen regions towards the pole, and the other on the borders of the Caspian, were made within its own limits; to some part of which astronomers from every part of Europe went to behold that remarkable occurrence.

What appears somewhat surprising is, that while Catharine was striving to build her fame upon a solid basis, she made it a matter of much importance to obtain from all the powers of Europe, the title of Imperial majesty, which some of them had refused her. The king of Sweden had long since given it to Catharine; but the swedish diet could not be brought to grant it till the commencement of this year, 1767*.

Lewis XV. pertinaciously delayed to mention her by that style. Knowing that the sovereigns of Russia only began to assume the title of emperor in the time of Peter the great, he con-

* The 6th of February.

sidered

sidered them in some sort as a new nobility : not considering that it is the power of princes, and not the antiquity of their race, on which their rights are built. This refusal of the king of France mortified Catharine ; but this was not the only reason she had to be irritated against him. She had no doubt that this monarch was informed of all the secrets of the conspiracy that had placed her on the throne ; and she knew, besides, that the ambassador of France at the Porte, had been labouring long to make the Turks declare against Russia.

What then would she have thought if she had read a letter concerning this, written by the duke de Choiseul ?—“ We know,” said he, “ the ill-judged animosity of the court of Russia against France. The king so heartily despises at once the princess who reigns in that country, and her sentiments and her conduct, that it is our intention not to take a single step towards inducing her to change them. The king thinks that the hatred of Catharine II. is far more honourable than her friendship. At the same time he is desirous of avoiding an open rupture.”

But the shuffling tricks of a foreign court and the dangers of war could cause no great disturbance to Catharine ; perhaps they were even

even as necessary to her as the cares she bestowed on the administration of the empire, for eluding the bitterness of such reflections as might occasionally arise in her mind. She often imagined that in one adverse moment she might be despoiled of the fruit of her labours and ingenuity, and that some of her subjects might be ardently wishing for its arrival. The name of Peter III. was become dear to the Russians. They recollect ed with pleasure the good he had done, and the desire he had of doing more: they forgot his failings and infirmities, expiated by a series of misfortunes. They lamented the deplorable end of that prince; and the multitude of malcontents dispersed throughout the empire, might secretly contain more than one avenger.

Sensibly touched with the deplorable death of the tzar, and incensed at seeing his murderers sharing his power, a young officer, named Tschoglokoff, resolved to avenge it, and even thought himself inspired with the design by the suggestions of heaven. After having long reflected on the means of executing his sanguinary project, he resorted to the palace for several days in succession, always lurking in some of the dark passages leading to the inner apartments, to which the empress retired when

she

She wished to be alone. The preservation of her majesty was on this occasion owing to an accidental circumstance, by preventing her from going, according to custom, along the passage where Tschoglokoff was waiting her coming. Disconcerted by a delay which he had not foreseen, and impatient to strike the blow which he thought beneficial to his country, and glorious to himself, this young man had the imprudence to trust his secret to another officer whom he thought his friend. This officer ran in haste to betray him. Orloff, thus informed of the measures that were taken by Tschoglokoff, and the instant when he was again to expect the empress, caused him to be arrested in his ambuscade. He was found armed with a long poignard, and confessed, without hesitation, the use for which he designed it. Catharine, always sufficiently mistress of herself for concealing her indignation and her fears, pretended to forgive the rash attempt of the youth, whom political fanaticism had deluded from his duty. She even had him brought into her presence, and spoke to him with mildness. This generosity was only apparent. Catharine wished to conceal from the public a wicked design, which, if it had been known, might soon have been imitated. But, as she did

not

not flatter herself with the hopes of entirely converting a man who, from an excess of humanity, was about to become an assassin, she quickly caused Tschoglokoff to be put into prison, and afterwards banished to the heart of Siberia.

Some time before the period of which we are treating, the deputies of the two Russian trading companies, one established at Kamtshatka, and the other at the mouth of the river Kovima, gave the court of Petersburg an account of their discoveries. Those of Kovima, setting out from that river, doubled the cape called Tschut-ski-noss, in 74 deg. north lat. and falling down to the south, through the strait which separates Europe from America, they discovered some inhabited islands in the 64th degree of latitude, where they went ashore, and settled a trade with the inhabitants, for their finest furs, some of which they brought to the empress, particularly a parcel of the most beautiful black foxes skins that ever were seen. They named these islands the islands of Aleyut; some of them are very near the continent of America*. Those of Kamtshatka went to the northward, and met their companions at the above islands; so that,

* For a farther prosecution of some of these discoveries the reader is referred to "Varieties of Literature," vol. ii. p. 1. printed for Debrett, Piccadilly.

for the convenience of trade, they fixed a factory at the isle of Beering. When this report was made, the court came to a resolution of pushing these discoveries; and lieutenant colonel Blenmer was sent, with several able geographers, with orders to sail from the river Anadyr to the same coasts, and even beyond them.

About the middle of the year 1767, the empress conceived the useful project of sending several learned men to travel into the interior of her vast territories, to enable themselves to determine the geographical position of the principal places, to mark their temperature, and to examine into the nature of their soil, their productions, their wealth, as well as the manners and characters of the several people by whom they are inhabited.

A country of such a prodigious extent as the Russian empire, must naturally attract the notice of every man who wishes to increase his knowledge, whether it be considered in regard to the astonishing number of tribes and nations by which it is inhabited, the great diversity of climates under which they live, or the almost infinite quantity of natural curiosities with which it abounds. But the greater part of this country is still immersed in the profoundest barbarism, and

and almost inaccessible to the investigations of the ordinary traveller. Here vagrant hordes of people, who, entirely addicted to the pastoral life, roam from place to place, shunning the social manners of towns and villages, negligent of agriculture, and leaving uncultivated and almost in a desert-state vast tracts of land blessed with the most favourable soil and the most happy temperature of seasons: there, peasants, and even in many places inhabitants of towns, slaves to a thousand prejudices, languishing in bondage to the most stupid superstitions; brought up, besides, in the severest servitude, and, being accustomed to obey by no other means than blows, are forced to submit to the harshest treatment: none of those affectionate admonitions, those prudent and impelling motives, which usually urge mankind to action, make any impression on their degraded minds; they reluctantly labour the fields of a hard master, and studiously conceal from his knowledge those riches which some accident, so desirable in other countries, should have led them to discover; as they would only augment the number of their toils and the heaviness of their yoke. Hence that careless contempt for the treasures presented them by nature, and the neglect of those bounties

the

she lavishes on them. Hence those immense deserts almost totally destitute of cultivation, and so many towns that are falling to decay.

Peter the great, of too penetrating a view not to perceive both the evil and its causes, took all imaginable pains, and adopted the wisest measures to ameliorate the condition of an empire, so powerful from numberless other circumstances, to free his subjects by gentle degrees from the shackles of barbarism, to diffuse on all sides the benign light of arts and sciences, to discover the treasures concealed in his dominions, and to furnish agriculture with the remedies and assistances adapted to its improvement. His travels into several countries of Europe for the acquisition of such kinds of knowledge as were most applicable to the use of his dominions, are sufficiently known; as well as that in 1717 he honoured the royal academy of sciences at Paris with his presence, and expressed his desire the following year to be admitted a member; that he kept up a regular correspondence with that illustrious body, and that he sent to it, as the first essay of his ingenious and magnificent enterprizes, an accurate chart of the Caspian, which he caused to be scrupulously taken on the spot. At the same time he fitted out and dispatched several men of letters to various

parts of his empire; one of them to make the tour of Russia, and two others to proceed to Kafan and Astrakhan, to gain information of every thing of consequence to be known in those countries. In the year 1719, Daniel Amadeus Messerschmidt, a physician of Dantzic, was sent into Siberia, for the purpose of making inquiries into the natural history of that immense province, from which expedition he only returned at the beginning of 1727. This learned man did honour to the choice that had been made of him, by an indefatigable activity, and by the proofs he gave of his profound knowledge, not only in every department of natural history, but likewise in antiquities, as well as in astronomy, having carefully determined the elevation of the pole in all the places where he stopped.

As the northern regions, particularly those of Siberia, were as yet but little known, and as it was very uncertain whether the extremity of these latter might not touch upon America, Peter I. sent from Archangel two ships, with orders to proceed, by the white sea and the northern ocean, into the frozen ocean, where they experienced the same disasters as had befallen the other vessels that had gone before them in this attempt; for one of the two was

caught by the fields of ice, and disabled from proceeding any farther; and as no tidings were ever heard of the other, it, in all probability, perished.

Peter I. was not discouraged by the failure of this undertaking; but he was carried off by death as he was preparing a new expedition; he had given the charge of it to two danish captains, Beering and Spangberg, and a Russian named Tschirikoff, with orders to go to Kamtshatka, from whence they were to sail for exploring the northernmost coasts of Siberia. The sorrowful event of the emperor's death made no alteration in these dispositions; and the plan was carried into execution, the same winter, by the empress Catharine, who sent a small company of literati, provided with a paper of instructions, which Peter had framed with his own hand. They returned in 1730, after having penetrated very far towards the north.

The empress Anne was desirous of prosecuting these important researches still farther, and ordered the erection of a new company, in which Beering was to be employed as captain of the ship. Kamtshatka was again the point of departure for making the principal discoveries, with orders to neglect nothing that might shed any light on the knowledge of the globe. One

part of this society was to navigate the northern seas, while the others were to repair by land to Kamtshatka over Siberia. These latter were to act conformably with the instructions of the imperial academy of Petersburg, and to employ themselves particularly in astronomical observations, geometrical operations, and descriptions relative to the political and natural history of the countries through which they were to pass.

John George Gmelin was one of the chief of those who undertook the journey by land; almost always accompanied by professor Muller, who had the care of the historical part. They reached as far as Yakutzk; where Kraschenenikof, the assistant Steller, the painter Berkhan, and the student Gorlanoff, quitted them to go to Kamtshatka, of which they collected the political and natural history, as well as that of the department of Okhotzk. M. de l'Isle de la Groyere likewise went thither with some land surveyors. Afterwards M. Fischer was sent in the department of political history; he reached very near to the province of Okhotzk; which he left in the design of returning *.

* For more particulars the reader is referred to the preface of Mr. J. G. Gmelin to the first volume of his travels in Siberia, which appeared at Göttingen 1751. A french translation, or rather abstract of it, was given by M. de Keralio, Paris 1767.

In 1760, M. l'abbé Chappe d'Auteroche was sent into Russia, by order and at the expence of the king of France, for observing at Tobolsk the transit of Venus over the sun: his observations, published with great ostentation, contain not near so much as was expected from that academician; and many of those which he relates had been already long since known.

The empress Catharine II. determined to prosecute these useful investigations, and accordingly gave orders to the academy of sciences to make choice of a company of able and learned men to travel over different districts of the empire with attention and observation. The selection of the learned travellers, the helps that were granted them, the excellent instructions and advice that were given them, will be a lasting honour to that academy. The very names of a Pallas, a Gmelin, and a Guldenstædt, already promised much. M. Lepechin had likewise acquired a reputation by different papers inserted in the academical collections; and the result of the labours of these enlightened men has been seen in the extensive utility which they have since produced. Very few of the accounts that have been given by travellers contain so great a variety of new and important matters. The journals of these celebrated scholars even furnish

such a great quantity of materials entirely new, for the history of the three kingdoms of nature, for the theory of the earth, for rural œconomy, in short, for so many different objects relative to the arts and sciences, that it would require, according to the judicious remark of M. Bekmann of Gœttingen, whole years and the labour of several literary men only to put these materials in order, and properly to class them.

In order to form an accurate idea of the different objects to which our learned travellers were enjoined to direct their observations, it will be necessary to give an account of the instructions delivered to them by the academy at their departure. By these they were to make accurate examinations into—1. The nature of the soil and that of the waters. 2. The means of putting the desert places into cultivation. 3. The actual state of agriculture. 4. The most common diseases, both of men and cattle; and the methods of healing and preventing them. 5. The breeding of cattle, particularly sheep, and that of bees and silk-worms. 6. The fishery and the chace. 7. Minerals and mineral waters. 8. Arts, trades, and objects of industry. 9. They must also apply to the discovery of interesting plants: and, 10. To rectify the position of places, to make geographical and meteorological observations;

ations ; to report all that relates to manners, various customs, languages, traditions, and antiquities ; and mark down exactly whatever they should find remarkable concerning all these points.

All these different views were fulfilled in a superior manner by these gentlemen ; and there is no exaggeration in what has been said, that natural history never at one time obtained so great an increase of its treasures, the inestimable fruit of the labours of these truly useful men ; and their narratives are become a lasting monument of their zeal, their uncommon talents, and their unwearied activity.

Samuel George Gmelin, physician of Tübingen, began the course of his travels June 23, 1768, accompanied by four students, James Gliutsharef, Stephen Krasheninikof, Ivan Michailof, and Sergèy Maslof ; having with them an apothecary named Joachim Daniel Luther ; Ivan Borissof a draftsman, Michael Kotof, a hunter by profession, whose business it was to stuff the animals ; and a sufficient escort of soldiers. He directed his rout, on leaving Petersburg, through Stararuffa, Valdai, Torjok, and Mosco, towards Voronetch ; where he took up his winter-quarters, and whence he afterwards passed through Ostrogošk, Pavloſk, Kafanka,

Cimlia, and Tscherkask to Azoff. From this last place he set out, about the middle of August 1769, to proceed by Tzaritzin to Astrakhan; he passed the winter in that city, and only quitted it in June 1770; he traversed, in this last half year, in the whole course of 1771, and part of 1772, the north of Persia; visited Derbent, Baku, Schamaky, Entzili, Peribazar, Ghilan, Mafanderan, returned to Entzili, where he passed the winter, and resumed, in April 1772, the rout to Astrakhan. The third volume of his journal closes with the description of these countries. This able traveller was continually obliged to struggle with adverse events, while traversing the northern provinces of Persia; he had especially to contend with sicknesses, and the difficulties thrown in his way by the khans of that kingdom; and he is deserving of the title of a martyr to natural history, with the greater right, as, after having adorned his life with so many labours, he closed it under the weight of persecutions, and in the miseries of captivity *.

The

* He was seized upon, at 90 versts from Derbent, in the district of Usmey khan, and there actually died in prison. The empress gave a gratification to his widow, after this deplorable event, by granting her one year's pay of the salary she had assigned to her husband during his travels, consisting of 1600 rubles. If the worthy Gmelin had not undertaken his

second

The greater part of the writings he left behind him were forced, not without great difficulty, from the hands of the barbarians.

Peter Simon Pallas, M. D. and professor of natural history, long famous in that branch of knowledge, took his departure from St. Petersburg towards the middle of June 1768. In his progress he visited Novgorod, Valdai, Mosco, Vladimir, Kazimof, Murom, Arfamas, the country extending between the Sura and the Volga, and wintered at Simbirsk, of which he examined all the adjacent parts. The 10th of March 1769, he turned off to Samara, Syzran, Orenburg, crossed the countries watered by the Yaik, and repaired to Gurief-gorodok, which seemed then to be the general rendezvous of our academical travellers. Here he met, among others, the unfortunate professor Lovitz*, who had

second and unfortunate journey into Persia, rather as a merchant than as a literary man, and if he had not constantly gone by land, he would not easily have fallen into the hands of Usmey khan.

* M. Lovitz lost his life in a dreadful manner, during the time that the rebels, who produced so much confusion in Russia in the preceding war against the Turks, were ravaging the colonies of the evangelical brethren. Our naturalist was

had just established his observatory, his assistant Ichonodzof, and lieutenant Euler : M. Lepechin was also at that time in the neighbourhood of Gurief. M. Pallas employed himself, during the whole of his stay in this place, in examining the coasts and the isles of that part of the Caspian that lay within his reach. Hence he returned by the same road, in order to go, by the way of Orenburg, to Oufa, where he arrived the 2d of October ; and after having spent there the winter, he set out, the 10th of March 1770, for the mountains of Oural, and the province of Iset : the 23d of June he reached Ekatarinenburg, where he made his observations on the great number of mines that are worked in that district ; he proceeded afterwards to the fortress of Tsche-liabinsk, whence, about the middle of December, he took his course to Tobolsk. M. Pallas

was taken at Dobrinka, where he thought himself in the greatest safety. A band of these rebels dragged him as far as the borders of the Slovla, where their chief had his quarters ; and, in the month of August 1774, he was there first impaled alive, and afterwards hanged. The assistants of Lovitz, Ichonodzof and his son, having found means of escaping, saved all his writings and a part of his instruments. Several farther particulars relating to this learned traveller, may be seen in Busching's Wochentliche nachrichten, 1775, p. 56 & seq.

had

had sojourned the greater part of the winter at Tscheliabinsk, and traversed and examined, partly by himself and partly by his assistant M. Lepechin, and by professor Falk, almost all the government of Orenburg, when this latter also came, about the middle of March 1771, followed shortly after by his assistant Georgi, to join him in this town of Tscheliabinsk. Captain Ritschkof, who had hardly quitted M. Pallas all the winter, now left him, and set out upon another journey.

M. Pallas finally left his winter-quarters at Tscheliabinsk the 16th of April 1771, directed his course by the Omsk, followed the course of the Irtysh, visited the mines in the environs of Kolyvan, went to the Schlangenberge (or serpent mountains) and to Barnaul; where he found M. Falk sick, who was come from Omsk by the steppes or desarts of Barabin. From Barnaul M. Pallas proceeded to Toms, and arrived, the 10th of October 1771 at Krasnoyarsk upon the Yenisey, which he had made choice of for his winter-quarters. It was there that the student Suyef came up to him again, in the month of January 1772; he had made, in the course of the last summer, a journey the length of the Obe towards the frozen ocean, and was come to communicate his observations to

M. Pallas,

M. Pallas, who was again joined, in the month of February, by M. Georgi, who had hitherto served as assistant to M. Falk, and afterwards by the students Bykof, Kaschkaref, and Lebedef, whom M. Falk, forced by the bad state of his health to return, had sent to M. Pallas.

Our learned traveller left his winter-quarters the 7th of March 1772, to proceed, with M. Georgi and two students, by Irkutsk to the lake Baikal, whither he had already sent M. Sokolof in the month of January. After having seen the environs of that lake, Selinginsk and Irkutsk, he regained, the 12th of July, the route of Krasnoyarsk, where he set up his winter-quarters, after having visited the mountains of Sayan. In the month of January 1773, they set out on their return, in which they took the way of Tomsk, Tara on the Irtysh, Kasan, Sarapul, Yaitzkoi-gorodok, Astrakhan, and through the country that borders the Sarpa to Tzaritzin, where he met again M. Sokolof, whom he had sent to visit the steppe or desert of Kuman. After having wintered at Tzaritzin, and made several excursions from that city towards the Volga, he returned at length by Mosco to St. Petersburg, where he arrived the 30th of June 1774.

We see, by this short sketch of M. Pallas's travels, that he went over a great part of the same countries which the first, third, and fourth volumes of the travels of J. George Gmelin had described. But this ought not to induce us to regard the labour of M. Pallas as a repetition, which might easily have been dispensed with; the map of M. Gmelin differed entirely from his, and was incomparably more contracted, as to the department of natural history. Besides, professor Pallas took quite other courses than those of M. Gmelin: and Siberia had in the interval acquired an altogether different face, as well by the extension of its frontiers, as by the establishments that have increased its population, by the new and important mines that have been put in produce, and the foundries that have been erected there; so that it cannot fail of gaining infinitely by any comparison that might be made between his accounts and those of Gmelin.

John Amadeus Georgi, member of the society of natural history at Berlin, was at first destined by the imperial academy to relieve professor Falk, who was commissioned with what was called the expedition of Orenburg, and then known to be in a bad state of health. He set out, in consequence, the 1st of June 1770, took the

route

route by Mosco and Astrakan, and met M. Falk in the steppe of the Kalmucs, very near to an armenian caravan. He followed him across that steppe to Ouralsk (at that time Yaitzkoi-gorodok) and to Orenburg, where they remained till the end of the year. At the beginning of 1771, they travelled by consent into the province of Isset, M. Falk along the lines of Orenburg, and M. Georgi by the Baschkie and the Oural. He took, during the illness that detained M. Falk, several little journeys from Tschelyoeba, capital of the province, towards several places, for observing a variety of natural curiosities, and the nations of the country ; finding themselves at length in a capacity to continue their courses, at the latter end of June M. Falk proceeded by Isetskoi to Omsk on the Irtysh, and directed M. Georgi to come and join him at the last-mentioned place by the new lines of Siberia, or of Ischim on the frontiers of the Kirghises. They then proceeded in company across the steppe of Barabın, to see the silver mines of Kolyvan near the Obe. They went also afterwards to visit Barnaul, and, as much as a serious malady, with which M. Falk was attacked anew, would permit, the mountainous district of the mines of Altai, and the foundries that depend on Barnaul. Towards the end of November they

they continued their journey, following the first elevations of mount Kusnetzk, to Tomsk. It was in this city that M. Falk received from Petersburg a permission to return, on account of his ill state of health. M. Pallas, the chief of the expedition, now remaining alone in the vast regions of Siberia, M. Georgi, as we have already seen, was entered of his company, and travelled, though separately, under his direction.

We shall here give a short intimation of the places visited by M. Georgi: from Irkutsk he proceeded to the lake Baikal, of which he drew an excellent chart, and thence into Dauria, for the purpose of examining the mines of that name, and into the district of the mines of Argussin; thence he returned by Irkutsk to Tomsk, Tara, Tobolsk, Isetskoi, Ilina, Ekatarinenburg, and Oufa, visiting all the mines of those countries; he returned thence by Perme, on the Oural of the Baschkirs; once more from Oufa to Tzaritzin and Orenburg; and lastly along the Volga, from Astrakhan to Petersburg by Saratof, Bulgari, Kafan, Makarief, Pavlova, Nishneynovgorod, Yaroslavl, and Tver. On the 10th of September 1774, he arrived in the imperial residence.

On

On coming to Kafan in March 1774, M. Georgi found professor Falk still there, and extremely ill, which he terminated, together with his life, by his own hand a few days after. Two or three particulars of his life* will not be disagreeable to the reader.

M. Falk was born in Westrogothia, a province in Sweden, about the year 1727. He studied medicine in the university of Upsal, and went through a course of botany under the celebrated Linnæus, to whose son he was tutor. He publicly defended the dissertation † which that famous botanist had composed on a new species of plants, which he called *Astromeria*. In the year 1760, when M. Georgi for the first time was at Upsal, the latter was already so deeply affected with depression of spirits, that M. de Linné, in the view of obliging him to take exercise and dissipation, sent him to travel over the island of Gothland, to make a collection of the plants it produces, and the various kinds of corals and corallines which the sea leaves on its shores. This voyage was attended with no diminution of his distemper, which found a

* From the journal of M. Georgi.

† In the collection known under the title of *Linnæi amanitates academicæ*.

continual supply of aliment in a sanguine melancholy temperament, in a too sedentary way of life, and in the bad state of his finances.

Professor Forskael having left Upsal for Copenhagen in 1760, Falk followed him thither, in the design of applying, by the advice of M. de Linné, to be appointed assistant to M. Forskael in his famous journey through Arabia; but, notwithstanding all the pains that M. Ceder and several other men of literary reputation at Copenhagen took in his behalf, his application failed, as the society that were to go on that important expedition was already formed. Obliged, with much discontent, to return, he herborised as he travelled, and enriched the Flora Suecica with several new discoveries.

A man in office at St. Petersburg, having written to M. Linné to send him a director for his cabinet of natural history, M. Falk accepted the post, which led him to the chair of professor of botany at the apothecaries garden at St. Petersburg, a place that had been vacant from the time that it was quitted by M. Siegesbek. His hypochondriac complaint still continued to torment him. When the imperial academy of sciences was preparing in 1768 the plan of its learned expeditions, it took M. Falk into its

service, though his health was uncertain. He was recalled in 1771; but, having got only to Kafan in 1773, he there obtained permission to go and use the baths of Kisliar, from which he returned again to Kafan at the end of the year with his health apparently better.

But his disease soon returned with redoubled violence. From the month of December 1773, he had never quitted his bed, nor taken any other nourishment than bread dried in the Swedish manner (*knækebrœd*), of which he scarcely took once a day some mouthfuls dipped in tea. At first he received the visits of a few friends; but afterwards denied himself to them, and was reduced to the strictest solitude. When M. Georgi went to see him, nothing seemed left of him but a skeleton of a wild and terrifying aspect. The few words he drew from him consisted in complaints occasioned by a host of diseases which kept his body in torture, and threw him into the most cruel sleeplessness. The last evening M. Georgi kept him company till midnight. He spoke little, and said nothing that could give reason to suspect the design he was meditating. His hunter, and at the same time his trusty servant, offered to sit up with him the night; but he could not be persuaded to consent.

M. Georgi

M. Georgi being requested the next day, March 31, to come to the lodging of the unfortunate gentleman, he found him lying before his bed, covered with blood; beside him lay a razor, with which he had given himself a slight wound in the throat, the fatal pistol, and a powder-horn; all together presenting a tremendous spectacle. He had put the muzzle of the pistol against his throat, and, resting the pommel upon his bed, he discharged the discontents in such manner, that the ball having gone through his head, had stuck in the cieling. His soldier had seen him still sitting up in his bed at four o'clock, at which time he usually fell into a short slumber. In his chamber was found a note written the evening before, betraying throughout the distracted state of his mind, but nothing declaratory of his design, or that was of any importance.

M. Falk, like all hypochondriac persons, was not very communicative, and on certain occasions was distrustful. But at the same time he was of a sedate temper, complaisant, and upright, which made it a very easy matter to bear with him, and secured to him the indulgence of all his acquaintance. His extreme sobriety had enabled him to make some savings from his pay, though he was very beneficent; it was not

therefore indigence that drove him to this act of violence. He was of a cold constitution, preferring solitude and quiet to society, to the company of his friends, and to ordinary amusements, which yet he did not shun, except in the latter period of his life. As to religion, he shewed on all occasions more respect for it, than any strong effusions of zeal. It was solely to be ascribed to the violence of his distemper, and the weakness of mind which it brought on, that led him to put a period to his days. The fate of this unfortunate scholar was generally, and justly lamented*.

In the number of those who were of the expedition of M. Pallas was also captain Nicholas Rytschkof, son of Peter Ivanovitch Rytschkof, counsellor of state, who made himself famous for his topography of Orenburg. Rytschkof, the son, in 1769, went over some districts of the

* His papers were found in the greatest disorder. They contain, however, very useful and important relations. He particularly made it his business to inquire about the Kirghises and other tartarian nations; and as he frequently remained for the space of nine months together in the same place, he was enabled to procure satisfactory notions concerning the objects of his investigations. The imperial academy, in 1774, appointed professor Laxmann to arrange his manuscripts in order for publication; which was done accordingly.

governments of Kafan and Orenburg; proceeded eastwards from Simbirsk, and thence northwards beyond the Kama, declining afterwards to the north-east along the Oural mountains, which he traversed in his way to Orenburg. In 1770 he visited the countries extending the length of the western bank of the Bielaya, as far as the Kama, which he coursed as far downwards as Kafan; then crossing the province of Viatki, he passed on to Glinof, came into Perme, and surveyed the environs of Solikamsk; thence, descending along the Kama nearly as far as Koungour, he proceeded by Ecatarinenburg to Tschelyabinsk. In 1771, on departing from Orsk, he visited the steppe of the Kirghis-kosaks on this side the Yaïk, passed the rivers Irgis and Turgai, came as far as the mountains of Ulu-tau, thence bore away to Ust-wisk and Orenburg, and came at last, by a part of the province of Oufa, quite to the Dioma.

M. Lepechin, by birth a Russian, who, after having gone through his first studies at the imperial academy of sciences at St. Petersburg, went to pursue a course of medical study at Strasburg, where he was admitted M. D. and was received in 1768 as *adjunctus*, and in 1771, member of the same imperial academy, was at the head of another of these expeditions. He set

out the 8th of June 1768, from Petersburg, proceeded straight to Mosco; thence by Vladimir, Murom, Arsamas, Alatyr, consequently by the government of Nishney-novgorod, to Simbirsk in the province of Kafan; from which place he set out in the month of August, to visit the course of the river Tschereimschan, which divides the government of Kafan from the province of Stavropol, and thence travelled over various parts of the government of Orenburg. In autumn he reached Stavropol, passed the winter at Simbirsk, and the spring of 1769 in the province of that name: the following summer he came to Astrakhan; from which city, in the month of August, he made an extremely remarkable journey to Gurief, crossing the steppe which extends between the Volga and the Yaïk; from Gurief he went up along the Yaïk as far as Orenburg, and reached in the month of October the little town of Tabynsk situate near the centre of the Oural of Orenburg on the river Bielaya, where he wintered. In the month of May following, he pursued upwards the course of the Bielaya, examined the mountains, came in July to Ecatarinenburg, struck forwards into the Oural, and attained, beyond the Koungour, to the summit of the highest of the Oural of Orenburg, whence he returned to Ecatarinenburg,

burg, and passed the winter at Tiumen in the province of Tobolsk.

In the month of May 1771, he reached the summit of the highest mountain of the Oural-chain, which runs between Verkoturia and Solikamsk, visited, during the summer, the province of Viatka, proceeded by Oustioug to Archangel, where he embarked in order to examine the coasts of the White Sea. He made Archangel his winter-quarters that year. The following year, 1772, was employed by our learned traveller in making a second course on the sea just mentioned, along the shores and the isles lying to the left of Archangel, as far as the western and northern coasts; proceeding thence to the mouth of the White Sea: he afterwards doubled Kaninnos, and at length returned by the gulf of Mezen to Archangel, whence he set out, towards the close of the year, for St. Petersburg. During the spring and summer of 1773, he visited the environs of Pscove, Velikiye-Luki, and Toropetz, with divers other parts of the governments of Pscove and Mohilef: in the month of August he went from Polotzk, along the Duna to Riga; whence he proceeded, following the sea-shore, to Pernau, then to Valk, Neuhausen, and Pscove: after which he returned in December

to St. Petersburg, and probably thus terminated the travels on which he was sent.

Dr. J. Guldenstädt took his departure about the middle of June 1768, from St. Petersburg, in order to proceed, by Novgorod, along the western coast of the lake Ilmen, by Porkof, Staraiia-russa, and Toropetz, to Mosco, where he tarried from the 11th of September to the 8th of March 1769; when he set out for proceeding by Kolomna, Episani, Toula, and Eletz, to Voronetch; thence to Tavrof, to Tambof, to the fortress of Novochoperskaia; and after having coursed along the rivers Chopa, Medvieditza, and the banks of the Don, he arrived the 11th of October at Tzaritzin, where he remained till the 23d of November: he afterwards went to Astrakhan, where he arrived the 4th of December, and then proceeded to Kitzliar, a russian frontier town on the river Terek. This place he quitted in 1770, to visit the countries watered by that stream, by the Kunbalni, the Soontscha, the Aksai, and the Koifa, with the north-east parts of mount Caucasus; being often obliged in this course to return to Kitzliar, chiefly because of the little safety he found in traversing those parts. It was for this reason, and on account of an illness that detained

detained him; that he did not reach Georgia that year.

The 10th of February 1771, M. Guldenstadt left Kitzliar, with a detachment of russia[n] troops, for Ossetia, which is a district of mount Caucasus; and so soon as the 17th of March he was already returned to Kitzliar, which he quitted for the last time the 18th of May, in order to go to the hot baths on the borders of the Terek. One of the most considerable of the princes of the lesser Kabarda accompanied him, and shewed him, during the months of July and August, all that country, and the northern part of the caucasian mountains, inhabited by the Dugores. Thence he returned a second time to Ossetia on the Terek, whence he departed the 11th of September under the escort of some hundreds of Ossetians, whom the tzar Heraclius had taken into his pay, and happily arrived with them in Georgia. He was, the 25th of September, at Duschet, a town of Karduelia. The 9th of October he left that country, in order to proceed to the river Kur, at the same place where tzar Heraclius had appointed his troops to make their general rendezvous, and which was only 15 versts distant from Tefflis, its capital. It was there that M. Guldenstadt had an audience in form of the tzar, who embraced him, made him

sat down in his presence, and promised to grant him every assistance that he should want; which promise he afterwards fulfilled. He made the campaign with the tzar, who pushed with the main body of his army to the distance of above 120 versts up the course of the Kur; and he returned to Teffis with that prince the 14th of November. He left this place again the 21st of February 1772, for Kachetia, always in the suite of the tzar, and passed the whole of the month of March in that province of Georgia. He traversed, in the month of May, those provinces of Turcomania which are in subjection to tzar Heraclius. The 20th of June he went, for the last time, to Teffis, in the resolution of quitting Georgia, after he should have made the tour of the provinces of tzar Solomon, and to return to Mosdok on the river Terek. On the 18th of July he made his obeisance to that tzar, who had set up his summer-camp on the southern bank of the river Rion, some versts below the fortress of Minda. The prince gave our traveller a very gracious reception. The 5th of August 1772 he quitted the district of Radscha, which makes part of the kingdom of Immeretia, and repaired to Kutatis, the capital of the lower Immeretia; then made the tour of the frontiers of Mingrelia and Guria, the eastern part of

Immeretia

Immeretia and middle Georgia. Tzar Solomon had given him an escort of 300 Immeretians to attend him on his tour. As he was preparing to proceed farther on, he was forced for some time to suspend his march, as the greater part of his people had fallen sick. In this interval he received a supply of men, horses, and provisions, from a georgian nobleman whom a little before he had cured of an ailment. On the 1st of October he reached the last grusinian or georgian village, where he was again obliged to stop for a month, in consequence of advices that he received of 300 Assletinians who were waiting on the shore of the Terek to attack and to plunder him. In the interim the major general of Medem, being informed of his situation, sent a detachment of 600 men with two pieces of cannon, at the arrival of whom the robbers dispersed. By this means Mr. Guldenstädt happily regained the frontiers of Russia, and returned first to Mosdok and afterwards to Kisliar. In April 1773, he made an excursion to Petersbade [the baths of Peter], whence he returned the succeeding month and immediately set out for Mosdok, and in the month of June went upwards along the Malka. From that river he turned off towards the eastern branch of the Kuma, and proceeded to the five mountains

or Besch-tau, which form the highest part of the first elevation of Caucasus : he visited the mines of Madschar, from which he took the route of Tscherkask, where he arrived the 24th of July. From this last town he made a tour to Azoff; being returned to Tscherkask, he proceeded by Taganrog along the sea-coast, crossed the river Kalmius, following at the same time the Berda and the new lines of the Dniepr, and came by the eastern bank of that river to Krementschuk, the capital of the government of New-Russia, where he arrived the 7th of November, and passed the rest of the winter. He had not yet quitted this government, though already on the way to the Crimea, when he received orders on the 20th of July 1774, as did all the other academical travellers, to return to St. Petersburg. Accordingly he turned back, and came by Krementschuk, and along the lines of the Ukraine as far as Bielefskaia-krepost ; thence bent his course over Bachmut, and beyond towards the south-east and the east, as far as the rivers Mius and Lugantschik. Being returned to Bielefskaia-krepost, he left it for the second time the 16th of December, and came by Kief to Serpukof ; where, having collected all the persons and all the effects belonging to his expedition, he took his departure the 20th
of

of December for Mosco, and in the course of March arrived at St. Petersburg*.

Such is the general outline of these interesting travels from which the learned of Europé have received so much information, and which could not with propriety have been passed over with slighter notice in this history; yet for the particulars of them the reader must be referred to the accounts that have been published by the travellers themselves. The discoveries made by the Russians at sea at various epochas, and particularly during the reign of Catharine II. have been so faithfully laid before the public by Mr. Coxe in his well-known work professedly written on that subject, that it would be unnecessarily swelling the bulk of these volumes to say any more of them here. However it is impossible to take leave of these expensive and important missions without testifying our acknowledgment, with that ingenious and candid writer, of the benefits that have accrued to science from these learned and laborious investigations, and to join with him † and every friend

* See Bachmeister's Russische Bibliothek, tom. i, ii, and iii. where very circumstantial accounts of all the several courses pursued by these travellers are to be found.

† Coxe, Russian Discoveries between Asia and America, preface, p. xi.

to rational inquiry, "in the warmest admiration
" of that enlarged and liberal spirit, which
" so strikingly marked the character of the late
" empress of Russia; who, from her accession to
" the throne, made the investigation and dis-
" covery of useful knowledge the constant object
" of her generous encouragement. The au-
" thentic records of the Russian history were by
" her orders properly arranged; and permission
" was granted of inspecting them. The most
" distant parts of her vast dominions were at her
" expence explored and described by persons of
" great abilities and extensive learning; by
" which means new and important lights have
" been thrown upon the geography and natural
" history of those remote regions. In a word,
" this truly great princess contributed more
" in the compass of only a few years, towards
" civilising and informing the minds of her
" subjects, than had been effected by all the
" sovereigns her predecessors since the glorious
" æra of Peter the great."

The court of Catharine became now the
asylum of the sciences, to which she invited
learned men from every part of Europe.
Among the rest the celebrated professor Euler
from Berlin, on whom her majesty settled a large
annual stipend, made him a present of a house,
besides

besides shewing him many other marks of her imperial favour and protection. Well knowing, that it is not so much by the power of arms as by precedence in the sciences and the arts that nations obtain a conspicuous place in the annals of the world, Catharine with a laudable zeal encouraged artists and scholars of all denominations. She granted new privileges to the academy of sciences, and exhorted its members to add the names of several celebrated foreigners to those which already conferred a lustre on their society.

Nor was she less attentive to the academy of arts, by increasing the number of its pupils, and adding such regulations as tended more than ever to the attainment of the end of its endowment. Scholars were now not to be taken in after the age of six years, that the defects of a bad education might not yet have had time to spoil their temper or corrupt their manners. Delivered for three years to the care of women, they are then put into the hands of tutors, and are devoted to the art to which they shew the most inclination. They may become painters, sculptors, architects, watchmakers, engravers, or learn the art of casting in metals, and of making mathematical and optical instruments. During the whole of the time they are in the academy they

they are not permitted to receive any thing from their parents. They are clothed, fed, and lodged at the public expence. At the end of 15 years they leave the institution; and, if their behaviour corresponds with the pains that have been bestowed on their education, they are granted patents of nobility. -

Independently of these advantages, such of the pupils as have carried the highest prizes, receive the before-mentioned pension, for travelling three years over Europe.

It is frequently observed, that though this institution has now subsisted upwards of half a century, yet it has produced no great artist; and that it has served no other purpose than to furnish Voltaire with a subject of pompous declamation, and to make annually a paragraph in the newspapers of Germany, ostentatiously describing the ceremony of distributing the prizes in the presence of the empress and the grand duke, with their pathetic speeches on the occasion; and that, answering that purpose, nothing farther was intended. Yet even admitting the love of fame to be the only motive at the time, the institution may hereafter find motives of its own, arising from interest, or a desire of excelling, as a civilized public shall increase, and the approbation of their performances no

longer be considered as a matter of form and confined to the court.

Still farther to encourage the fine arts in her dominions, the empress assigned an annual sum of 5000 rubles for the translation of foreign literary works into the russian language.

At this time, 1768, the small-pox was very rife in St. Petersburg, which occasioned the empress and the grand duke her son to remain at Tzarsko-selo, instead of coming to town as usual. The countess Scheremetoff was carried off by that distemper a few days before she was to have been married to count Panin, for which event great preparations had been made. It was neither possible, nor was it material, to ascertain how the infection penetrated the recesses of the court; but persons of rank and fortune were alarmed that neither one nor the other afforded any security against the ravages of this dreadful disease. The danger to which her majesty and the grand duke were exposed, together with her majesty's zeal for the welfare of her subjects, gave rise to a proposal for introducing the practice of inoculating.

The first personages in the empire determined to set the example, by submitting to the operation; and a resolution was accordingly taken by the empress, to invite a physician from England,

where inoculation had been most practised, and was generally allowed to have received some modern and very considerable improvements*.

Accordingly Dr. Thomas Dimsdale, about the beginning of July 1768, received a letter at Hertford from M. Pousschin, the Russian minister at the court of London, representing that the empress, having a desire to engage an able physician to go to St. Petersburg, in order to introduce inoculation, he wished to see him as soon as possible. At the interview that ensued, great encouragements were held out; but the doctor, from domestic considerations, at first shewed some hesitation; when a second courier arriving, and some circumstances rendering it apparent that the empress and grand duke were immediately interested in the application, he prepared for his journey with all expedition, and accordingly set out on the 28th of July.

Two days after his arrival, the doctor, in consequence of a previous notice, waited on Count Panin, who, after the usual salutations, said to him, " You are now called, sir, to the most important employment that perhaps any gentleman was ever entrusted with. To your

* See tracts on inoculation, written and published at St. Petersburg in the year 1768, by command of the empress of Russia, by the hon. baron T. Dimsdale, 1781.

“ skill and integrity will probably be submitted
“ no less than the precious lives of two of the
“ greatest personages in the world, with whose
“ safety the tranquillity and happiness of this
“ great empire are so intimately connected, that
“ should an accident deprive us of either, the
“ blessings we now enjoy might be turned to
“ the utmost state of misery and confusion.
“ May God avert such unspeakable calamities !
“ But the hazard of the infection of the small-
“ pox, in the natural way, is so threatening,
“ that we are compelled to have recourse to the
“ expedient of inoculation ; which, though so
“ little known in this country, has been adopted
“ and practised in England with the greatest
“ success. We have physicians of great learn-
“ ing and abilities in their profession ; but not
“ being experienced in this new branch of
“ practice, her imperial majesty was pleased to
“ lay her commands upon her ministers, to
“ inquire after and engage a person of the best
“ abilities in it, and whose success had been
“ confirmed by long practice. You come to
“ us well recommended in these essential points ;
“ I shall therefore repose the utmost confidence
“ in you, and have only to request that you
“ will act without the least reserve.

“ As to the resolution of the empress in this
“ particular, with regard to herself, I must
“ leave to her majesty to explain her own sen-
“ timents; but with respect to the grand duke;
“ he is already determined on the operation,
“ provided you encourage it: it has been sub-
“ mitted to his own consideration; he approves,
“ and even wishes it. I have therefore to
“ request, that before an affair of so great con-
“ sequence is finally settled, you would make
“ yourself well acquainted with his constitution
“ and state of health.

“ His imperial highness knows you are ar-
“ rived, expects to see you, and invites you to
“ wait on him to-morrow. I can venture to
“ assure you, that he will be easy of access,
“ and willing to be acquainted with you. Be
“ with him as much as possible; see him at his
“ table, and at his amusements; make your
“ observations, and, in short, study his consti-
“ tution. Let us not be too precipitate; but
“ when every circumstance has been duly
“ attended to, report your opinion freely, and
“ depend on this, that if you should deem the
“ operation hazardous, and advise against it,
“ we shall think ourselves equally obliged to
“ you; nor will the acknowledgments on ac-
“ count

" count of this expedition be inferior to what
" it will be upon the utmost success."

In answer to this, the doctor assured the count, that he would in every respect attend to his intimations, and that he might depend on his making a just report.

The empress came to town that evening, and the next day, the two Dimsdales were presented. On this occasion there were only present with her majesty, count Panin and baron Cherkassoff, president of the college of medicine, who having been educated at the university of Cambridge, spoke very good english. Catharine shewed great perspicacity in the questions she put concerning the practice and success of inoculation. On his retiring, Dr. Dimsdale was invited to dine with her majesty the same day ; and as the account of the manners observed at the empress's table will neither be foreign to our purpose, nor unentertaining to the reader, we shall give it in the doctor's own words :

" The empress sat singly at the upper end of a long table, at which about twelve of the nobility were guests. The entertainment consisted of a variety of excellent dishes, served up after the french manner, and was concluded by a dessert of the finest fruits and sweetmeats, such as I little expected to find in that northern cli-

mate. Most of these luxuries were, however, the produce of the empress's own dominions. Pine-apples indeed are chiefly imported from England, though those of the growth of Russia, of which we had one that day, are of good flavour, but generally small. Water-melons and grapes are brought from Astrakhan; great plenty of melons from Mosco, and apples and pears from the Ukraine.

" But what enlivened the whole entertainment was the most unaffected ease and affability of the empress herself. Each of her guests had a share of her attention and politeness; the conversation was kept up with a freedom and cheerfulness to be expected rather from persons of the same rank, than from subjects admitted to the honour of their sovereign's company."

" On the following day another conversation with the empress ensued, in which Dr. Dimsdale requested the assistance of the court physicians, to whom he desired to communicate every proposed regulation and medicine; but the empress would by no means consent to any such consultation, and gave her reasons as follows:

" You are come well recommended to me;
" the conversation I have had with you on this
" subject has been very satisfactory; and my
" confidence in you is increased. I have not
" the

" the least doubt of your abilities and knowledge
" in this practice ; it is impossible that my
" physicians can have much skill in this opera-
" tion ; they want experience ; their interposi-
" tion may tend to embarrass you, without the
" least probability of giving any useful assistance.
" My life is my own ; and I shall with the
" utmost cheerfulness and confidence rely on
" your care alone. With regard to my consti-
" tution, you could receive no information from
" them. I have had, I thank God, so good a
" share of health, that their advice has never
" been required ; and you shall, from myself,
" receive every information that can be neces-
" sary. I have also to acquaint you, that it is
" my determination to be inoculated before the
" grand duke, and as soon as you judge it conve-
" nient. At the same time I desire that this
" may remain a secret business ; and I enjoin
" you to let it be supposed that, for the present,
" all thoughts of my own inoculation are laid
" aside. The preparation of this great experi-
" ment on the grand duke will countenance
" your visits to the palace ; and I desire to see
" you as often as it may seem necessary, that
" you may become still better acquainted with
" what relates to my constitution, and also for

“ adjusting the time, and other circumstances of
“ my own inoculation.”

He promised obedience to her majesty's commands ; and only proposed that some experiments might first be made by inoculating some of her own sex and age, and as near as could be of similar habit. The empress replied, “ that if the practice had been novel, or the least doubt of the general success had remained, that precaution might be necessary ; but, as she was well satisfied in both particulars, there would be no occasion for delay on any account.”

The empress, on being inoculated privately, went* the next morning to Tzarsko-selo, a palace about four and twenty versts from Petersburg. At first no other persons were there but the necessary attendants, it being given out that her majesty's journey was only to give directions about some alterations, and that her stay would be short. But several of the nobility soon followed, and the empress observing among them some whom she suspected not to have had the small-pox, said to Dr. Dimfdale : “ I must rely on you to give me notice when it is possible for me to communicate the disease :

* On the 12th of October.

“ for,

" for, though I could wish to keep my inoculation a secret, yet far be it from me to conceal it a moment, when it may become hazardous to others." The empress, during this interval, took part in every amusement with her usual affability, without shewing the least token of uneasiness or concern ; constantly dined at the same table with the nobility, and enlivened the whole court with those peculiar graces of conversation, for which she was ever distinguished*.

The grand duke shortly after † submitted to the operation ; and, on his recovery, Catharine

* Shortly after being inoculated Catharine wrote to Voltaire :—" I have not kept my bed a single instant, and I have received company every day. I am about to have my only son inoculated. The grand master of artillery, count Orloff, that hero who resembles the antient Romans in the best times of the republic (1), both in courage and in generosity, doubting whether he had ever had the small-pox, has put himself under the hands of our Englishman ; and the next day after the operation, went to the hunt, in a very deep fall of snow. A great number of courtiers have followed his example, and many others are preparing to do so. Besides this, inoculation is now carried on at Petersburg, in three seminaries of education, and in an hospital established under the inspection of M. Dimsdale."

† On the 1st of November,

(1) Romans !—the Orloffs !

rewarded

rewarded the services of Dr. Dimsdale by creating him a baron of the Russian empire, and appointing him actual counsellor of state, and physician to her imperial majesty, with a pension of 500l. a year, to be paid him in England; besides 10,000l. sterling which he immediately received; and also presented him with a miniature picture of herself, and another of the grand duke, as a memorial of his services. Her majesty was likewise pleased to express her approbation of the conduct of his son, by conferring on him the same title; and ordering him to be presented with a superb gold snuff-box, richly set with diamonds.

The examples of these illustrious personages had such immediate influence, that most of the nobility both at St. Petersburg and Mosco were impatient to have their families inoculated. This business being happily accomplished, baron Dimsdale was preparing to return to England, and indeed was just setting out, when a nobleman came to inform him that the empress was desirous of seeing him. The baron was much concerned to find her with every symptom of a pleuretic fever, and therefore at her desire again took up his residence in the palace. The symptoms increased; but, upon being bled, her majesty received immediate relief, and in a short time

time the most alarming symptoms abated. So soon as the empress was recovered, which was in about three weeks, the baron again prepared for his journey to England. Having taken his leave, and received farther proofs of the munificence of her imperial majesty, the baron was attended to Riga by an officer commissioned to see that every necessary accommodation should be provided, in the same manner as at his first arrival in the country*.

On the 3d of December 1768, a thanksgiving service was performed in the chapel of the palace, on account of her majesty's recovery and that of the grand duke, from the small-pox. The ceremony was very solemn and magnificent. On each side of the imperial chapel, which is a lofty and spacious room in the winter palace, is a row of gilt ionic columns. The walls are covered with taudry and ill-executed pictures of russian saints. On the roof, over the catapetasma and holy doors, is a representation of the supreme being, in the figure of an old man in white raiment. Within a railing extending across the

* Before baron Dimsdale took his departure from St. Petersburg, the empress purchased the house that had been built by baron Wolff, formerly british consul in that city, for the purpose of converting it into an inoculation hospital, which she accordingly did, and the institution is still supported.

room,

room, and contiguous to the pillar nearest to the holy doors, on the south side stood the empress and her son, for, by the greek ritual, no person is allowed to sit in church; accordingly there are no seats, not even for the sovereign, who stands all the while under a canopy, when not making the usual prostrations. In the same area, and on both sides of the sanctuary, were choristers gaudily apparelled. All the rest of the congregation stood on the outside of the balustrade.

The ceremony opened with solemn vocal music, no other being admissible in the greek church; to this succeeded the prayers and ejaculations, which constituted the first part of the office. Presently the folding doors of the holiest were opened from within, and displayed to view the penetralia of the temple. Directly opposite appeared a large picture of the descent from the cross; on each side a gilt colonnade of the ionic order; in the middle an altar covered with golden tissue; and on the altar a crucifix, a three armed candlestick with lighted tapers, emblem of the trinity, and chalices, flagons, patens, and other holy vessels. A number of venerable priests with hoary heads and flowing beards, mitres studded with precious stones of every colour, and costly robes of silk and damask, stood

stood in solemn attitudes, among the columns of this gorgeous sanctuary.

From the adytum, or inmost recess, with slow and solemn steps, advanced a priest, bearing in his hand a two branched candlestick with lighted tapers, emblematic of the hypostatic union of the two natures of the son of God. He was followed in like manner by another, reciting prayers as he moved along, and swinging a censer smoking with fragrant odours. Advancing towards her majesty, he waved the censer thrice before her, during which she several times gracefully bowed, and as often made the sign of the cross upon her breast. A third priest succeeded him bearing on his arms the volume of the gospel; out of which having read some passages adapted to the occasion, he presented it to the Empress, who kissed it with great devotion.

The priests then retired: the folding doors of the sanctuary were closed: the choristers sung an anthem, and were answered by musical voices from within. The intonations were deep and sublime. In a few minutes the folding doors again flew open; the ceremonies of the tapers and incense were repeated. Two priests advanced, bearing the sacred symbols, the bread and wine of the holy eucharist, veiled with cloth

of

of gold. Having administered this *, they retired. The doors were closed, and the choral harmony resumed.

The doors were opened, and the same ceremonies a third time repeated. After this the metropolitan ascended the pulpit against a column opposite to the empress, and delivered a discourse; in which he celebrated her resolution and magnanimity; and in the course of his sermon remarked, “that the Russians had bor-“ rowed assistance from Britain, that island “ famed for wisdom, bravery, and virtue.” The sermon ended, several priests came from the recess, and concluded the service with prayers and benedictions.

The senate decreed that the event of the recovery after inoculation of the sovereign and his imperial highness should be solemnized by an anniversary festival, which has been regularly observed ever since.

* In the greek church the bread and wine are mixed up together, and administered with a spoon.

C H A P. VI.

The ottoman porte declares war against Russia.— 1768
Prince Henry of Prussia at Petersburg.—A
russian squadron, under the command of count
Alexius Orloff, sails to the Archipelago.—Vic-
tories of count Romantzoff.—Capture of Bender.
—Count Alexius Orloff returns to Petersburg.
—His conduct in Italy.—Prince Dolgorouky
enters the Krimea.—Pestilence at Mosco.—
Attempt to assassinate the king of Poland.—
Congress at Fokshiani.—Vassilchikoff becomes
favourite of the empress.—Gregory Orloff is
dismissed from court; with other events from
1768 to 1772.

ON the first menaces held out by Turkey, Catharine, who felt herself not yet in a condition to make war with advantage, suspended the settlement of the limits between Russia and Poland, without, however, abandoning the hope of seizing on a part of that kingdom, where her officers were continually harassing and dividing the inhabitants. The flattering and sanguine expectations which had been formed on the conclusions of the late diet, and the intervention of the Russians in the affairs of the republic,
were

Poland

were totally overthrown almost as soon as they were conceived ; and that unfortunate country became the theatre of the most cruel and complicated of all wars ; partly civil, partly religious, and partly foreign. Indeed the measures relative to the diet, as well as those which had for some time past directed all the transactions in that country, seemed pregnant with such seeds of discontent, as might well be expected to produce, sooner or later, some very extraordinary consequences. We have seen a foreign army, under colour of friendship, take possession of a country to which no just claim was even pretended ; we have seen them, for a course of years, peremptorily dictate to the members of a once great and free nation the measures they should pursue, and the laws they should establish for their own internal government ; and we have seen them seize the senators of that nation, and send them prisoners to a foreign country, for daring to have an opinion in their own national councils. It is not then to be wondered at, that the Poles, a brave and haughty nation, long nursed in independence, and whose nobles had exercised in their respective districts an almost unlimited sovereignty, should ill brook a submission to such unnatural acts of foreign power.

The

The consequences were accordingly fatal. The resentment excited by patriotism from a sense of national injury and dishonour, being embittered and enflamed by the spirit of cruelty and animosity, which is almost always inseparable from religious disputes, that unhappy country exhibited, in the course of the year 1768, the scenes of horror, calamity, and desolation, which are the common concomitants of civil war. Citizen destroying citizen ; foreigners drenching the vast plains of a great country in the best blood of its inhabitants, and the fields covered with the unburied bodies of those who used to till them, are but a part of the horrors of this dreadful picture. Some that were most impatient of the Russian yoke at several times attacked their armies. Encouraged by Austria, and particularly by France, they made themselves masters of the city of Cracow, of a part of Podolia, and united in the fortress of Bar, the name whereof was then given to that confederation, which became so famous by its enormities and its misfortunes. The empress caused reinforcements of the troops to enter Poland, giving the command of them to lieutenant-general Soltikoff. The affrighted confederates made a second application to the Turks. The count de Vergennes, being informed of this step,

renewed his remonstrances to the divan, to determine it to succour the Poles, and to oppose the ambitious designs of Catharine : in which he succeeded. The ambassador of that princess was shut up in the prison of seven towers, and the reis effendi delivered to the foreign ministers a manifesto *, by which the grand signior declared war against Russia, accusing it of having infringed the treaties, and violated the territory, of the ottoman empire. The Turks, at the same time, announced that they were about to open the campaign with an army of 500,000 men.

The empress dreaded now neither the threats nor the undisciplined multitudes of the ottoman forces. On the contrary, she shewed great dignity and firmness. Upon the occasion of the arrest of her minister † at Constantinople, she loudly justified his conduct, and applauded his spirit in not making any humiliating concessions, or submitting to conditions that were derogatory to the honour and glory of the empire.

The conduct of the grand signior, in regard to the transactions in Poland, was blameless

* This manifesto was inclosed in a purse. See the appendix to this volume.

† The 12th of October 1768.

and irreproachable, and entirely consistent with the character of a good neighbour and faithful ally. The affairs of that country had, for some years past, greatly attracted the attention of the Porte; nor could it indeed have been an indifferent spectator of the measures there lately pursued. The great and growing power of the Russian empire, and the supreme ascendant it had acquired in all the transactions of the north, were in themselves sufficient objects of jealousy to so near a neighbour. But the almost absolute dominion which it had lately acquired, and the unlimited authority it exercised, in so considerable and extensive a country, and possessed of such great natural power, as Poland, was an object of such moment, as the sultan could not possibly have overlooked, without giving up every pretension to true policy, and even to common prudence.

In fact, while its kings were elected, its laws passed, and its states governed under the influence of a Russian army, Poland could be considered in no other light than as a province to that empire; and the splendid titles of kingdom and republic were only a mockery and cruel insult on its degradation. The Poles might have urged, and the Turks might have been convinced, that the pretences of fulfilling treaties,

protecting the dissidents, and guarding the freedom of election, was an useful sort of official language, which made a very good figure on paper, and had a plausible effect in manifestos, to the vulgar, or to those who were but little concerned. But these glosses could bear no political test of examination ; as reasons of the same or a similar nature might be everlastingiy found for the keeping of an army in any country, under pretence of friendship or protection, and at the same time converting it to all the purposes of a conquered province. In truth, the same reasons would have held, for sending a russian army to Constantinople, to protect the divan, to prevent riots among the janissaries, and to restore the christians in that empire to their ancient rights and privileges.

Catharine, however, had lost no time in preparing for her defence ; and her preparations were formidable. Accordingly, she caused a manifesto to be delivered to all the ministers of the powers neutral or allied, and published a declaration of war, with the usual forms, in the public places of Petersburg.

1769. The russian armies began to march, and soon extended from the banks of the Danube to those of the river Kuban. The Tartars of the Crimea, who had embraced the party of

the

the Turks, were the first against whom the armies of Catharine displayed their prowess. General Izaakoff drove 12,000 of them out of New Servia, which they had entered under the command of their khan *. Masters of Azoff and Taganrog, the Russians put these two places into a condition of resisting their ancient possessors, and laboured, with unremitting industry, in augmenting the little squadrons, which have since given them the dominion of the Euxine.

The kosaks of the Ukraine penetrated into Moldavia. Prince Gallitzin, who commanded the principal body of the Russian army, passed the Dniester, and attacked 30,000 Turks even under the ramparts of Khotyim ; but he was repulsed ; and the conquerors pursued him to the other side of the river.

That general then published a manifesto, inviting all the Poles, who were not of the confederation of Bar, to take arms against that confederation. Soltikoff had already solemnly announced to his army, that such officers or soldiers as should take a confederate, and grant him his life, should be severely punished.

Nine polish nobles soon after appeared in Warsaw with both hands cut off. For this

* In the month of March 1769.

mutilation they had to accuse the Russian general Drevitch. The barbarian had acted in the double capacity of their judge and their executioner.

Catharine recalled from Warsaw prince Repnin, whose arrogance was disgusting to all the Poles, without even excepting the warmest partizans of Russia. That ambassador was succeeded by prince Volkonsky, who exerted himself in vain to effect the re-confederation already proposed in the manifesto of prince Gallitzin. The empress clearly saw how dangerous it would be for her, if all the Poles should unite against the Russians. But the efforts of her generals and the intrigues of her ministers were now of less service to her than the weakness and inattention of the court of Versailles. If that court had been so inclined, the confederation of Bar would have been generalized, the Porte powerfully defended, and Poland still have been in the number of the powers of Europe *.

Long

* In order to raise all Poland in one confederacy, the very eloquent and very able general Mokronosky requested of the duke de Choiseul no more than 2,000,000 tournois, as a subsidy, the acknowledgment of count Vilheorsky as minister of the confederation of Bar, and the mission of an agent to it, commissioned to see that the subsidies were well applied.

Long before the plan for the partition of Poland was put into execution, the empress and the king of Prussia equally felt the necessity of conferring on that grand design. But, thinking that an interview between them would not fail of giving umbrage to the other potentates, and that they might perhaps find means for discovering the motives of it, they thought it most advisable to decline it altogether. Frederic, then giving his instructions to prince Henry, his brother, charged him with a commission to go to Russia. The better to conceal the object of his journey, prince Henry gave out, that he intended only to make a visit to his sister the queen of Sweden. While he was at Stockholm, he mentioned that he should return to Prussia by the way of Denmark. But all at once he seemed to change his resolution, and yield, from complaisance to Catharine, who, hearing that he was so near her dominions, gave him pressing invitations to come and see her at Petersburg. Thus, though prince Henry had quitted Berlin in no other design than to proceed to Russia, he

applied. The duke de Choiseul approved of the plan; but was dissuaded from it by the court of Vienna, who had doubtless already formed secret views, as the partition of Poland afterwards made it appear.

found means to make it believed, that he was now going upon an unpremeditated journey.

Prince Henry embarked at Stockholm in a galley *, that conveyed him as far as Abo, the capital of Finland. From thence he repaired to Petersburg. A chamberlain of the empress was dispatched to meet him on the frontiers of Russia. General Bibikoff received him at the last station, before the entrance of Petersburg, and conducted him to the palace that had been prepared for his reception, and where the minister Panin was waiting for him. The prince entered Petersburg under a discharge of cannon, and every where received the same honours that are paid to sovereigns.

1770. The next day he presented himself at court with a numerous suite, and dined in public with the empress. All that passed this day was conducted with the most rigorous attention to ceremony ; but afterwards all etiquette was banished ; and the empress and the prince might see and discourse with each other without the smallest restraint.

* The prince royal of Sweden, who reigned afterwards under the name of Gustavus III. and prince Frederic his brother, passed the first day in the galley with prince Henry. The duke of Sudermania was at that time in France.

Every day was marked with some festivity or some new entertainment *. It would be superfluous

* One of these is described in a letter from Mr. Richardson, then at Petersburg: "I saw him [prince Henry] a few nights ago at a masquerade in the palace, said to be the most magnificent thing of the kind ever seen at the ruffian court. Fourteen large rooms and galleries were opened for the accommodation of the masks; and I was informed that there were present several thousand people. A great part of the company wore dominos, or capuchin dresses; though, besides these, some fanciful appearances afforded a good deal of amusement. A very tall kofac appeared completely arrayed in the "hauberk's twisted mail." He was indeed very grim and martial. Persons in emblematical dresses, representing Apollo and the Seasons, addressed the empress in speeches suited to their characters. The empress herself, at the time I saw her majesty, wore a grecian habit; though I was afterwards told, that she varied her dress two or three times during the masquerade. Prince Henry of Prussia wore a white domino. Several persons appeared in the dresses of Chinefe, Turks, Persians, and Armenians. The most humorous and fantastical figure was a Frenchman, who, with wonderful nimbleness and dexterity, represented an overgrown, but very beautiful parrot. He chattered with a great deal of spirit; and his shoulders, covered with green feathers, performed admirably the part of wings. He drew the attention of the empress: a ring was formed; he was quite happy; fluttered his plumage; made fine speeches in russ, french, and tolerable english; the ladies were exceedingly diverted; every body laughed but prince Henry, who stood beside the empress, and was so grave and so solemn,

fluous to enter into the particulars of any, except
the festival that was given at Tzarsko-selo ;
the

solemn, that he would have performed his part most admirably
in the shape of an owl. The parrot observed him; was
determined to have revenge; and, having said as many good
things as he could to her majesty, he was hopping away: but
just as he was going out of the circle, seeming to recollect
himself, he stopped, looked over his shoulder at the formal
prince, and quite in the parrot tone and french accent,
he addressed him most emphatically with Henri! Henri!
Henri! and then, diving into the crowd, disappeared. His
royal highness was disconcerted; he was forced to smile
in his own defence, and the company were not a little amused.
—At midnight a spacious hall of a circular form, capable of
containing a vast number of people, and illuminated in the
most magnificent manner, was suddenly opened. Twelve
tables were placed in alcoves around the sides of the room,
where the empress, prince Henry, and 150 of the chief
nobility and foreign ministers, sat down to supper. The
rest of the company went up by stairs on the outside of
the room, into the lofty galleries all round the inside. Such
a row of masked visages, many of them with grotesque
features, and bushy beards, nodding from the side of the
wall, appeared very ludicrous to those below. The enter-
tainment was enlivened by a concert of music; and at
different intervals persons in various habits entered the hall,
and exhibited kosac, chinesc, polish, swedish, and tartar
dances. The whole was so gorgeous, and at the same time
so fantastic, that I could not help thinking myself present at
some

the magnificence of which is deserving to be remembered.

some of the magnificent festivals described in the old-fashioned romances :

— the marshal'd feast

Served up in hall with fewers and seneshals.

The rest of the company, on returning to the rooms adjoining, found prepared for them also a sumptuous banquet. The masquerade began at six in the evening, and continued till five next morning.—Besides the masquerade and other festivities, in honour and for the diversion of prince Henry, we had lately a most magnificent shew of fire-works. They were exhibited in a wide space before the winter palace ; and in truth, “ beggared description.” They displayed, by a variety of emblematical figures, the reduction of Moldavia, Vallachia, Bessarabia, and the various conquests and victories atchieved since the commencement of the present war. The various colours, the bright green, and the snowy white, exhibited in these fire-works, were truly astonishing. For the space of twenty minutes, a tree adorned with the loveliest and most verdant foliage, seemed to be waving as with a gentle breeze. It was entirely of fire ; and during the whole of this stupendous scene, an arch of fire, by the continued throwing of rockets and fire-balls in one direction, formed as it were a suitable canopy. On this occasion a prodigious multitude of people was assembled ; and the empress, it was surmised, seemed uneasy. She was afraid, it was apprehended, lest any accident, like what happened at Paris at the marriage of the dauphin, should befall her beloved people.” Anecdotes of the russian empire, p. 327.

Tzarsko-selo, or the seat of the tzars, the fixed summer-residence of Catharine II. lies in an open, pleasant country, diversified by gentle elevations and spots of forest, at the distance of 24 versts from Petersburg. The space of the whole grounds belonging to the palace comprises 420,000 square fathoms. This princely seat owes its origin to Catharine I. and its extension and embellishment to the empress Elizabeth; but for its elegant completion and the greater part of its present magnificence, it is indebted to the creative reign of Catharine II.

The columns that mark the versts on the road from town to Tzarsko-selo, are, like those on the Peterhoff road, of marble, jasper, and granite. On the two sides of the way are 1100 globular lamps, which on public occasions, when the court is at Tzarsko-selo, are lighted. Along the road the traveller is delighted with the view of private gardens and country-houses, though neither in number nor elegance and diversity to be compared with those on the road to Peterhoff. Between the sixth and seventh verst-stones are seen the walls of the palace of Tschesme, rising from a swampy plain overgrown with bushes. This palace, which is in the form of a triangle, is built entirely in the gothic taste, with old gothic ornaments, lofty windows,

windows, painted glass, little turrets. The inside is remarkable for a very good collection of portraits of all the princes of Europe, that were reigning about the year 1775, and their families, the greater part whereof were presents from the several princes themselves. The grounds about it are laid out in the english style.

Five or six versts farther on is a village of german colonists ; after which there is no other object of consequence, till, at the extremity of a thick forest, Tzarsko-selo, the grandest of all the imperial palaces, appears. On the left hand is the wall of the park, and opposite two lofty portals, practised through a steep and rugged artificial rock, on the top of the highest whereof is a chinesse temple. On passing through this entrance, on the right hand is a canal and beyond it the palace, and on the left a chinesse village, through which the road lies over a chinesse bridge into the park. The road extends to the neighbouring town of Sophia, through a colossal gate of cast iron. The palace itself forms an amphitheatre, with the building opposite to the principal front. On the east side of the garden are two rows of large houses for the people belonging to the palace, and for the entertainment of travellers.

The

The outside of the palace is grand from its magnitude, and dazzling by its gilded ornaments. It consists of three stories, and has a wing on either side, one of which is the chapel, and the other the imperial baths. The central part was inhabited by her majesty. Here a marble staircase leads up to the second story, in which are the state apartments to the side of the court-yard, and the proper dwelling rooms look to the gardens. The generality of the former are fitted up and furnished in the richest and costliest manner in materials of every kind, and in such elegant magnificence, that travellers, after visiting other countries, unanimously declare, they know nothing of the kind with which it can be compared. A description of these, with the gardens, will certainly not be expected here; as it would require a peculiar work of several volumes for that purpose. Only this cannot be overlooked, that Catharine, amidst the creations of her capacious mind, had here devoted a little temple of simple architecture to solitary retirement and calm reflection, in which, surrounded by books and the beautiful scenery of nature, she sometimes forgot her immense sphere of action, to indulge in the quiet enjoyments of meditation.

From

From the south wing of the palace projects an arcade, fifty fathoms in length, over which is a covered colonnade of marble columns.—The gardens are laid out in the english manner, and are unusually spacious. Among the remarkable works in these gardens that are susceptible of description are principally the following objects: a small temple, containing the choicest collection of antique and modern statues; a solitude for a rural repast; together with a hermitage; a superb bath, which may vie with any thing that antient Rome could produce; picturesque ruins; a little town, with its streets and squares, &c. in memory of the taking possession of Tavrida, with many others. Two artificial lakes, connected by a rivulet, across which is a marble bridge copied from that in Stowe-gardens. On an island in one of these lakes is a turkish mosque, on the other a spacious hall for musical entertainments. In a wood appears a pyramid of granite in the ægyptian form, in the neighbourhood of which are two lofty columns.

Tzarsko-selo, the magnificent sanctuary of nature and art, pretends also to be the grandest temple of merit. Formed of the radical mountains of our earth, monuments of great atchievements here tower aloft, fearless of the destructive revolutions of time. A marble obelisk records
the

the victory near Kagul, and the conqueror Romantzoff-Sadunaiskoï. To the day of Tschesmè and the hero Orloff-Tschesmenskoï a marble pillar on a pedestal of granite is dedicated. A superb triumphal arch proclaims the patriotic courage of prince Orloff, with which he opposed himself to the insurrection and the pestilence that raged in the capital, and overcame them both. A rostral column perpetuates the conquest of the Morea and the name Feodor Orloff. The rest of the gardens are filled with objects that keep the admiration of the beholder on its utmost stretch.

It was at this grand seat of magnificence and taste, that Catharine gave the famous entertainment to prince Henry of Prussia. At the coming on of the night, the empress, the grand duke, prince Henry, and several persons of the court, to the number of 16, seated themselves in an immense sledge drawn by 16 horses, covered and inclosed by double glasses, which reflected the numberless images of the objects both within and without. The sledge, followed by upwards of 2000 others, set out from Petersburg: every person of the whole company being masked, and dressed either in a fancy-habit or a domino.

At the distance of two versts from town, the train of sledges passed under an immense triumphal arch, illuminated with lamps of various colours, and adorned with transparent emblems. At every succeeding verst was some grand structure, a pyramid of lamps, a magnificent temple, illuminated colonnades, or fire-works in full display; and opposite to these at every verst on the other side of the road was a house of public entertainment erected for the purpose, where rustics of both sexes, shepherds and shepherdesses, were dancing and amusing themselves in various ways as at a country wake: every public-house of this sort representing some different nation, all the people being habited in the dress of the country the inhabitants of which they personated; the music and the dances likewise in strict conformity with the habits. At other intervals, vaulting, tumbling, interludes, &c. were performing.

At about two versts from the palace of Tzarskofelo a high mountain rose to view, seen through an avenue cut in the wood, representing mount Vesuvius during an eruption, darting torrents of flames, and illuminating the atmosphere to a great distance. This artificial eruption continued during all the time the sledges passed in sight of the mountain, till they entered the

lofty portal through the rock into the chinesc village, and through it to the palace.

The inside of the palace of Tzarisko-felo was lighted by an infinite number of wax-lights. In various apartments the company danced two hours. All at once a grand discharge of cannon was heard, on which the ball ceas'd, the candles were extinguished, and all the people ran to the windows, where they enjoyed the sight of magnificent fireworks the whole length of the palace. This having lasted for some time, a thundering discharge of artillery was heard again; when all the candles were alight once more as if by enchantment, and a splendid supper was already served up. After rising from table, the dances continued till a late hour in the morning.

Catharine, during the whole of her reign, gave frequent entertainments to the public, which though inferior to this, were yet conducted with a magnificence not to be exceeded in any court of Europe.

Prince Henry during his stay at Petersburg, passed all his evenings in company with the empress, in the favourite suite of apartments which that princess called her hermitage.

We ought not perhaps any longer to delay giving some account of this sumptuous edifice,

for so it should be styled rather than a suite of apartments, which, under the modest appellation of an hermitage, contains every thing that the most exquisite luxury could combine. It occupies a spacious building contiguous to the imperial palace, with which it communicates by a covered passage over an arch. This structure, which Catharine devoted to social recreation and the pleasures of familiar converse, is perhaps the only one of its kind that has ever been built by queens and empresses for this purpose. It had every property that could render it delightful to the elect circle of her intimates. The treasures of art and industry with which it abounds are not here to be described ; but a short account of some of the remarkable particulars of this palace it would be unpardonable to omit. Here is the private library of the empress ; the picture-gallery, in which the famous Houghton-collection makes but a small figure ; Raphael's gallery, built exactly to the dimensions of that of the Vatican, with excellent copies of all the paintings, corner-pieces, and other ornaments of exactly the same size and in the same situations ; a cabinet of medals, and another of coins ; a collection of copper-plate engravings ; a collection of natural history, particularly mineralogy ; a collection of curious pieces of art ; a collection

of models of mechanical inventions; a cabinet of antique and modern gems; not to mention the extraordinary works of art which compose the furniture of these apartments*. Here and there are placed the busts of great men. It is in one of these rooms that the elegant bust of Mr. Charles James Fox stands in the middle of a marble chimney-piece between two others. Some chambers are destined to musical entertainments, another to billiards, and others to various games. One of them opens into a pleasure-garden upon arches, with furnaces beneath them in winter to keep up a gentle heat; so that in the most rigorous seasons, here are gathered the peach and the ananas, the hyacinth and the rose. The whole of this garden is covered with a fine brass wire, that the beautiful and rare birds from all countries that fly among the trees and bushes, or hop about the grass-plots and gravel-walks, and which the empress used frequently to feed from her hand, may not escape. Here, in the midst of winter, Catharine, with those whom she admitted to her conversation, would walk on lawns and gravel, beneath the branches

* A great part of the paintings in the hermitage are from the famous cabinet of Crozat, which the empress caused to be bought at Paris.

of verdant trees, and amidst fruits and flowers of every kind.

Above this is a terrace, where is a second garden, in the asiatic taste; but this can only be enjoyed during the summer season. A covered gallery leads from this enchanted palace into the court-theatre, at the performances of which, likewise, only a select company ever appeared.

The other apartments of the hermitage are two large halls ornamented with great elegance, and a dining-room, in which dinner is served by a mechanical apparatus, which renders the attendance of servants entirely unnecessary, by presenting the dishes on small tables which rise through trap-doors. The company take their seats; and each of them, on wishing to change his plate, has only to strike it in the centre, and it falls through the table, and through the floor, starting up again and settling in its place, having upon it whatever was written on the scrap of paper that descended with it. At a certain signal all the plates and dishes descend, and others with the second course presently appear.

Prince Henry expressed his desire to see Mosco. The sledges were immediately prepared; and he was transported thither with

extraordinary rapidity. Three weeks afterwadrs he was already back in St. Petersburg.

Among the various presents which he received of the empress was observed the star of the order of St. Andrew, full of very large brilliants, together with a single diamond valued at 40,000 rubles. The portrait of Catharine was inclosed in this ring *.

However, neither festivities nor pleasures prevented prince Henry from accomplishing the secret object of his journey. In the private conversations which he had with the empress, the dismemberment of Poland was resolved on †.

Catharine

* The empress, moreover, presented him with a collection of medals in gold, and a variety of rich furs. She also made great presents to all the persons of his suite.

† A letter written at the time by Mr. professor Richardson, of Glasgow, at that time in the family of the late lord Cathcart, ambassador at St. Petersburg, as tutor to the present lord, discovers such acuteness of perspicacity, as, since the event, to have the air of prophecy, that it is impossible to resist the making the following extract from it. It stands the xlist in his collection, and bears date Jan. 4, 1771:—“ This city, since the beginning of winter, has exhibited a continued scene of festivity and amusements: feasts, balls, concerts, plays, operas, fireworks, and masquerades in constant succession; and all in honour of, and to divert, his royal highness prince Henry of Prussia, the famous brother of the present king. Yet his royal highness does

1771

Catharine and Frederic were equally desirous of undertaking this dismemberment ; but they could

does not seem much diverted. He looks at them as an old cat looks at the gambols of a young kitten ; or as one who had higher sport going on in his own mind, than the pastime of fiddling and dancing. He came here about the beginning of November, on pretence of a friendly visit to the empress, to have the happiness of waiting on so *magnanimous* a princefs ; and to see with his own eyes the progress of those immense improvements so highly celebrated by Voltaire, and those french writers who receive gifts from her majesty. As the queen of Sheba had heard of king Solomon's "acts and wisdom," and "came to see whether she had heard a true report of them in her own land ;" so also this royal prince hath come to visit this mighty princefs. It may be too that, like the queen of Sheba, he is come to prove her majesty with "hard questions ;" if so, he may depend upon getting answers to all his questions ; and if he has any desires which she can grant, she will "grant him his heart's desire." I could, with the greatest ease, make out an exact parallel, in which the precious stones, the camels, and asses, brought by the sheban potentate to Jerufalem, would, I assure you, make no contemptible figure. But do you seriously imagine, that this creature of skin and bone should travel through Sweden, whence he is come at present, and Finland and Poland, all for the pleasure of seeing the metropolis and empress of Russia ? Other princes may pursue such pastime ; but the princes of the house of Brandenburg fly at a nobler quarry. Or is the king of Prussia, as a tame spectator, to reap no advantage from the troubles of Poland and the turkish war ? What is the

could not do it without a third ally. If Maria Theresa had been still sole mistress of the empire,

meaning of his late conferences with the emperor of Germany? Depend upon it, these planetary conjunctions are the forerunners of great events. Time, and perhaps a few months, may unfold the secret. You will recollect the signs, when you shall hear after this of changes, usurpations, and revolutions. Prince Henry of Prussia is one of the most celebrated generals of the present age. So great are his military talents, that his brother, who is not apt to pay compliments, says of him, that in commanding an army he was never known to commit a fault. This, however, is but a negative kind of praise. He reserves to himself the glory of superior genius, which, though capable of brilliant achievements, is yet liable to unwary mistakes; and allows him no other than the praise of correctness. To judge of him by his appearance, I should form no high estimate of his abilities. But the scythian ambassadors judged in the same manner of Alexander the great. He is under the middle size, very thin, he walks firmly enough, or rather struts, as if he wanted to walk firmly; and has little dignity in his air or gesture. He is dark-complexioned; and he wears his hair, which is remarkably thick, clubbed, and dressed with a high toupee. His forehead is high; his eyes large, with a little squint; and when he smiles, his upper lip is drawn up a little in the middle. His look expresses sagacity and observation; but nothing very amiable: and his manner is grave and stiff, rather than affable. He was dressed, when I first saw him, in a light blue frock, with silver frogs; and wore a red waistcoat and blue breeches. He is not very popular among the Russians; and
accord,

empire, they would not perhaps have succeeded in making her a sharer in so unjust a spoliation. Joseph II. was not so difficult. Turkey, France, England, might also have maintained the treaties of which they were the guarantees; but these powers were so easily deceived, or so indifferent to the fate of other nations, that Catharine said to prince Henry, "I will frighten Turkey; I will flatter England; do you take upon you to buy over Austria, that she may amuse France."

Prince Henry knew so well the dispositions of Joseph II. and of his minister Kaunitz, that he acted as if he had been already in concert with them. He settled with Catharine the conditions to be observed in the dismemberment of Poland, and fixed the extent of territory that each of the powers in this copartnership should appropriate

accordingly their wits are disposed to amuse themselves with his appearance, and particularly with his toupee. They say he resembles Sampson; that all his strength lies in his hair; and that, conscious of this, and recollecting the fate of the son of Manoah, he suffers not the nigh approaches of any deceitful Dalilah. They say he is like the comet, which, about fifteen months ago, appeared so formidable in the russia[n] hemisphere; and which, exhibiting a small watery body, but a most enormous train, dismayed the northern and eastern potentates "with fear of change."

to itself. However, the treaty between them was not signed till two years afterwards *.

The war continued to rage with fury on the frontiers of Turkey ; and while it cherished in the mind of Catharine the ambition of conquest, it served also as a military school to the Russians. Prince Gallitzin, humiliated at his defeat, made a fresh attempt against Khotyim. It was not more successful than the former. Sixty thousand Turks marched to the defence of that place ; they defended it bravely, and pursued the Russians quite into Poland : but being vanquished in their turn, they retreated to Moldavia.

At the beginning of this campaign the Turks fought with great courage and obstinacy ; but the ignorance of their generals, and the disorder that reigned in their armies, often cost them a defeat. After ten months of war, their army was almost entirely destroyed, and the fortress of Khotyim, which it had at first so valiantly defended, was abandoned without resistance to 200 Russian grenadiers.

The empress, on hearing that when the Turks were pursuing Prince Gallitzin, they had entered on the Polish territory, pretended that

* It was signed at Petersburg in the month of February 1772.

Poland ought not to suffer with impunity this infraction of the treaty of Carlovitz. Stanislaus Augustus and the senate of Warsaw, always submissive to the good pleasure of Catharine, declared war against the Porte. This procedure, however, added nothing to the forces of the Russians. What exertions could be made by a country without an army, without money, and a prey to all the horrors of anarchy?

But Catharine conceived a project more worthy of her genius. While her armies were harassing the Ottomans on the banks of the Pruth, the Danube, and the Dniester, and her fleets were triumphing on the Euxine, she resolved to attack them even in the *Isles of Greece.* Her ministers were against this plan, excepting count Ivan Chernicheff and Gregory Orloff. Catharine, however, set about the proper measures for executing her darling scheme. The dock-yards of Archangel, of Cronstadt, and Reval, now swarmed with workmen from all parts of the country; and the keels of as many ships as could be begun at one time were immediately laid; the main timbers of these ships were of oak, and the other parts of fir. She exerted herself to keep up the best understanding

ing with the two maritime powers, England and Denmark. For the improvement of her sea-officers, she had before engaged Englishmen in her service, the number of whom was now doubled. Others she sent to Malta, to make themselves acquainted with the art of managing the gallies. In order to accustom the lower classes of the marine, from the captain to the cabin-boy, to seas as yet unknown to them, she ordered a new-built frigate, the Nadejeda Blo-gopolitshik (the Successful Hope) to be got ready for sea, and invited some merchants of Petersburg to make ventures in it for a direct commerce with the ports of the Mediterranean. The empress undertook to provide the crew, and in all other respects to be an equal partner in the trade with the rest. This being settled, the command was given to captain Pleftscheyef. This was the first ship which bore the Russian flag in the Mediterranean: it was out on the voyage two years, and in that time visited almost all the ports of that sea. Able and experienced officers, especially from the British navy, readily entered into the imperial service; Elphinstone, Greig, Tate, Dugdale, and many others, not to mention sir Charles Knowles, who acted more as superintendant and director of the dock-yards than

Elphinstone

than in a strictly naval capacity *: even the pilots on board the fleet, besides native Russians, consisted of Englishmen, Danes, and Dutch. The empress concluded a particular treaty with Denmark, by which that kingdom was to keep in constant readiness 800 seamen for the service of Russia. And lastly, she requested of the maritime powers a friendly reception and assistance to her ships of war. England and Tuscany fully complied with this request; Malta consented that three Russian men of war, but no more at one time, should enter the port of la Valetta; France, Spain, Venice, and Naples, would admit only merchant-ships from that country in their ports.

Accordingly, in September 1769, what no one would have believed, two squadrons of Russian men of war sailed from Archangel and Reval, which were soon followed by others from the Baltic, and steered their hitherto unattempted course for the Mediterranean. The fleet now consisting of 20 sail of the line, 6 frigates, several transports, a number of bomb-ketches, gallies

1769

* To the zeal and abilities of admiral sir Charles Knowles, Russia is indebted for the present improved state of the art of ship-building in that country. The admiral had much to reform in the admiralty; and what he effected was really surprising.

and

and vessels with troops for land-service, left the Baltic, crossed the north sea, passed the straits of Gibraltar, and, after having been dispersed by a tempest, collected again, and displayed in the Archipelago its victorious flag. This fleet was commanded by admiral Spiridoff: but that admiral himself was under the orders of Alexey Orloff, whose share in the revolution had raised him all at once from a simple soldier to the rank of general, and whose audacity served him instead of experience and talents.

All Europe was astonished to see a nation, which till the present century was hardly known but by the map, now entering its harbours and braving its coasts. What a change of fortune! Russians landed on Paros, Melos, and other islands, and even on the continent of antient Greece. Russians conquered Nestor's Pylos*, and the famous Sparta†; laid siege to Corinth, and captured Lemnos and Mytelene‡. Russians were

* At present Navarino.

† Now Miftra.

‡ Captain Ployart, who commanded one of the ships in this expedition, and is now an admiral in the danish fleet, going on shore at Naxos, took with him a Homer, an old school-book which he happened to have on board, and shewed it to some of the natives, who begged it of him with the most earnest importunity. The captain complied with their

were fighting in Syria and Ægypt, where, from 1770 to 1773, they supported the enterprising Ali-bey.—But here indeed many errors were committed, whereby several of the advantages that had been gained were obliged to be abandoned. A great part of the fault lay with the unsteady Greeks, Mainots, and Montenegrins, who at first declared themselves very warmly against the Turks, but more inclined to robbery and depredation than regular fighting, shewed neither discipline, fidelity, nor courage.

A long time before the sailing of this fleet for the Archipelago, the empress had been preparing the way by settling a good understanding with the principal isles of Greece. Her emissaries flattered them with the hopes of exciting a general revolt in those countries. Marquis Maruzzi, banker at Corfou, and attached to the greek religion, came to St. Petersburg, where he was decorated with the order of St. Anne, and the title of minister from Russia to Venice. He promised in gratitude, to advance the sums that were necessary for the expedition of

their desires ; and on going again on shore the next day, he saw an elderly man with his back to a wall, reading the speeches of the first Iliad with all the fury of declamation, to an audience of 14 or 15 persons.

Alexey

Alexèy Orloff, and he actually furnished a capital of 35,000,000 of livres tournois *.

On the event of the war against the Turks depended the fate of Poland, and the consideration in which Russia should henceforth be held in Europe. Catharine was not ignorant of it. Accordingly she employed every effort of her power, and every exertion of her mind, in order to triumph in that war.

New squadrons were built, numerous recruits went and joined her camps. Not altogether satisfied with prince Gallitzin, the empress recalled him, and gave the command of her army to count Romantzoff, who was succeeded in the Ukraine by general Panin †. Prince Dolgorouky had a third army under his command.

* The empress procured, besides, several considerable loans at Leghorn, at Genoa, at Lucca, and at Amsterdam. The merchants of Holland had at first shewn reluctance at lending their money. Piqued with resentment that Mr. William Gomm, the banker of the court of Petersburg, had thought fit to dispense with their assistance, and to establish a course of exchange direct between Russia and England, they caused bills of exchange of his for 300,000 florins to be protested in one day, and occasioned him to stop. But they were offered an especial mortgage on the custom-houses of Petersburg and Riga ; and allured by this bait, they lent them all that they desired.

† Brother of the minister.

Neither

Neither were the Turks backward in reinforcing their armies, and putting at their head generals whom they thought the most capable of leading them on to battle. The grand vizir took upon himself the general command. They received also powerful succours from the Krimea. The famous Kerim-Gueray was lately dead, and his nephew had succeeded him. The new khan was weak and of a pacific disposition. The Turks caused him to be deposed; and in his room was elected Kaplan Gueray, a warlike prince, who presently put himself at the head of a combined army of Turks and Tartars.

The Russians opened the campaign by the siege of Bender, a place celebrated for the retreat and the long sojourn of Charles XII. But, harassed by the Tartars, they were obliged for some time to relinquish the hope of capturing that town. More successful on another side, they got possession of Yassi and of Ibraïloff.

These advantages were of but small importance. Two signal battles decided the fate of the campaign, and secured the glory of Romantzoff. The first was fought on the borders of the Pruth. The Turks, to the number of 80,000 men, were commanded by the khan of the Krimea, who had dexterously intrenched himself on a hill, where it was not possible to

attack them. Romantzoff encamped on an opposite station, and for the space of a month was vainly endeavouring to bring them to a battle. At length they lost all patience. A movement of Romantzoff led them to imagine that he was on the point of retreating; and a body of 20,000 men having gone down to pursue him, they were repulsed with loss into their very camp, which they reached in terror and disorder.

Animated by this success, they lost no time in mounting the hill by escalade; and after a vigorous resistance, their enemies abandoned to them their intrenchments and a considerable part of their baggage and artillery.

After this they retired towards the Danube, where they expected to be reinforced by detachments from the grand ottoman army. Indeed the grand vizir, who commanded it, did pass the river, and came to the assistance of the vanquished.

Romantzoff, who, thinking he was in pursuit of an army in confusion, had advanced towards the mouth of the river Pruth*, found himself all at once in the face of 150,000 Turks. His situation was the more dangerous, as he had

* The Pruth flows into the Danube.

been forced to detach a corps of his army for the protection of a convoy he was hourly expecting. The khan, who was indulging in the hopes of revenge, spread his forces to the left of the russian army, and surrounded it in such a manner as to cut off all possibility of retreat.

Though the russian troops were far inferior in numbers to those of the Turks, these latter took the same precautions as if they had had to contend with an enemy who amounted to an equal number with themselves. During the night, they surrounded their camp with a triple intrenchment. The following day the grand vizir gave the signal of battle ; and the Russians were attacked on all sides at once. The firing was kept up for five hours, without any decided advantage to either party. But general Romantzoff, judging that the cannon and the musquetry would complete the destruction of his army, gave orders to fall upon the enemy with bayonets fixed. The Turks gave way, and retreated within their intrenchments, where they defended themselves a long time with great bravery ; but numbers were at length obliged to yield to discipline and skill. The defeat of the Ottomans was complete *. They retreated

* In the month of July.

carrying off the vizir in their flight, and leaving almost a third of their army on the field of battle. The greater part of the baggage, and the stores of this army, 143 pieces of brass cannon, and 7000 waggons loaded with provisions, remained in possession of the Russians, and supplied them with the means of obtaining new victories.

Soon after this Romantzoff passed the Dniester. Prince Repnin made the conquest of Ismailoff. Panin laid siege to Bender; and that place, well fortified and defended by a numerous garrison, but entertaining no longer any hope of being relieved, surrendered* after a resistance of nearly three months; the capture of this fortress brought with it the submission of the Tartars of Budziak and Oetchakoff to the Russian sceptre.

General Igelstrohm took the important town and fortress of Ackerman †, the capital of Bessarabia, by assault; it is situated on the Euxine, at the mouth of the Dniester ‡.

The news of such great and repeated successes augmented the pride and the security of Catha-

* At the beginning of September.

† Towards the end of the same month.

‡ Ackerman signifies the white town.

tine. The disaffected, who surrounded her throne, dared no longer conspire against a princess who was triumphing at such a distance over her most formidable enemies. The provinces of Valachia and Moldavia, submitting to the russian arms, sent deputies to Petersburg, to do homage to the empress. She received them with magnificence, and loaded them with benefits.

At the same time several other foreign officers came to offer their services to Catharine, and obtained employment in her armies; among whom were general Lloyd *, major Thomas Carlton †, and other Englishmen of tried courage and conduct, together with some naval officers from England and Denmark, and captain Kinsbergen from Holland. These officers, distinguished by their talents and experience, were incorporated into the russian navy.

A little after her accession to the throne, Catharine had drawn from the conversations of marshal Munich the idea of getting possession of Constantinople, and of driving the Turks out of Europe. The old soldier had even offered to conduct the enterprise. But too many obstacles were at that time in the way of the execution of

* Author of "Reveries," a work on "the possibility of invading England," &c.

† Now governor of New Brunswick in America.

so great an attempt. The propitious moment seemed now at last arrived. However, unable to hope to keep under her dominion all the grecian isles, the empress determined at least to ravish them from the ottoman power; and the most despotic of sovereigns resolved to be the patron of liberty in these fine countries, and to be the founder of a republic there *.

We have already observed, that secret agents had disposed the Greeks to rise up in arms. That people, anciently so proud and now so debased, expected the Russians as their deliverers; and the instant their squadron had got the height of cape Matapan†, the whole Archipelago thought itself free. The Mainots, descendants of the ancient Lacedemonians, were the first that took arms. Their neighbours soon followed their example; and the Turks were massacred in several of the islands. But the latter cruelly revenged themselves for the insurrection of the Greeks. Some thousands of these miserable people were exterminated by the sabre of the janissaries.

Spiridoff The squadron of admiral Spiridoff was soon joined by that of Elphinston, a native of England, vice-admiral in the service of Russia, and far

* Afterwards she determined Joseph II. to second this project, which nevertheless was not put in execution.

† Formerly the promontory of Tenaros,

more

more capable of commanding than the officer under whose orders he served.

To this double squadron was opposed that of the capudan-pasha*, a man of extraordinary intrepidity, and who, on several occasions, only wanted, for gaining the victory, to have been better seconded.

He first forced the Russians to retire from Lemnos. Afterwards the two fleets met † in the channel that separates the isle of Scio from Natolia. The turkish ships were superior in number, and were in a manner intrenched behind some small islands and rocks on a level with the surface of the water. The Russians, however, were not afraid to attack them. The capudan-pasha, whose flag was flying on board the Sultan, of 90 guns, led the van, and offered battle to admiral Spiridoff. The ships came alongside of each other. The efforts of courage were terrible on both sides. Showers of balls and grenades interchangeably crossed, with rapidity, on the decks of the two admirals. The ship of the capudan-pasha caught fire ; that of the russian commander could not disengage itself from it. They blew up together ; and the sea was covered with their smoking fragments.

Naval Battle

* The famous Hassan.

† The 5th of July.

The admirals and some other officers were the only persons that escaped the disaster.

While the ships were burning, the other vessels, struck with terror, abandoned the fight; but soon after renewed the attack with redoubled fury. Night coming on, they were obliged to separate. The Turks had now the imprudence to enter the narrow and slimy bay of Tschesmè, where some of their vessels ran aground, and the others were so pressed for room, that they found it impossible for them to act. The Russians, who had observed their mistake, made every preparation for turning it to their advantage.

The day following *, vice-admiral Elphinston took his station at the entrance of the bay, to prevent the Turks from coming out. The next step he took was to order four fire-ships to be got ready, commanded by the English lieutenant Dugdale, and protected by the vessels of another Englishman, vice-admiral Greig. Towards midnight Greig began the attack with four ships of the line and two frigates. Presently after, Dugdale came up with his fire-ships; and braving the vigorous fire of the enemy, and encouraging by his example the Russians who seconded

Dugdale.

* The 6th of July.

him.

him, he himself fastened the grapplings of a fire-ship to one of the turkish vessels; and, with his hands, his face, and his hair, all burnt, he threw himself into the sea, and swam to the russian squadron. The turkish ships were so close together, that they all became a prey to the flames *. The sun at its rising saw no more of their flag.

So far from endeavouring to stop the progress of the combustion, the turkish crews thought of nothing but their own safety. Several sailors got off in boats, others threw themselves into the sea and took to swimming, and all of them who gained the shore dispersed themselves about the countries, and were guilty of such depredations and excesses towards the wretched inhabitants, that even the Russians themselves could not perhaps have surpassed them. It was found necessary to send a party of troops to put an end to their ravages.

After the entire destruction of the turkish squadron, the Russians went to anchor at Paros; whence they might easily command all the grecian

* It is certain that this famous conflagration was the work of three Englishmen, Elphinston, Greig, and Dugdale. The empress, nevertheless, thought fit to ascribe the idea of it to Alexius Orloff. She wrote so to Voltaire; she repeated it again in 1788 to the ambassador of France.

seas, and where not a single vessel was suffered to appear without lowering its top-sails.

The Turks were the more uneasy by the vicinity of such an enemy, as a rebellion had broke out in several parts of their empire. The pashas of Caramania, almost always at variance with the Porte, took advantage of its disasters for withdrawing themselves entirely from its authority. That part of Syria which is below Sidon and Tripoli followed their example, and the old sheik Daher excited all the country which reaches from Acre to the plains of Esdraeon and to the frontiers of Ægypt.

But of all those who signalized themselves by their rebellion against the grand signior, he who undoubtedly shewed himself the most formidable, and who was most in capacity to be of service to Russia, was Ali-bey. Raised from the rank of a simple mammeluk to that of bey, he distinguished himself by his courage, and had experienced, though still very young, the favours and the reverses of fortune. The rivals of his power succeeded so far as to remove him from Cairo; but he soon returned thither again and banished them in his turn. He knew that the Porte had been hostile to him, and, animated with an implacable resentment, he desired nothing better than to be able to contribute to the ruin of

of the ottoman empire. The arrival of the russian squadrons seemed to offer him a favourable opportunity for satisfying his vengeance.

Perhaps there never was an enterprise in a distant country more successfully carried on than that of the Russians on the coasts of Asia Minor. But perhaps also never were generals more ignorant, more incapable of appreciating the character of foreign nations, more jealous of a vain ostentation, and more addicted to debauchery than Alexèy Orloff and his principal officers. If they had had the skill to profit by their victories and the superiority of their forces, Syria and Ægypt would for ever have been lost to the ottoman empire.

Ali-bey used every effort to induce them to support the rebellion, and to send him troops to assist him in driving the Turks out of Ægypt. But instead of seconding his exertions, Alexius Orloff amused himself with insisting on his acknowledging the empress for his sovereign.

A young venetian merchant, named Carlo Rosetti, had possessed himself of the confidence of the bey, and was the first whom he employed to treat with the Russians. No one was more disposed, nor more fit to bring such a negotiation to a happy issue. Orloff had not the sense to take advantage of such an opportunity.

portunity. Negligent of the advices which this artful Italian might have given him, and disgusting him by his arrogance, he took Greeks and Jews into his pay who cheated and deceived him. He was mistrustful of Ali-bey, and forced him, by his artifices, to be mistrustful of him.

It was only a short time before he quitted the Archipelago, that Alexius Orloff sent Plestscheyef* into Ægypt. Plestscheyef was favourably received by the bey. He flattered himself with being able to draw from his mission great advantage to the Russians: but it was too late. Peace intervened to interrupt his negotiations.

A courier dispatched directly to the empress, brought her the news of the burning of the turkish fleet; so that she was the first person in Petersburg informed of the event. Count Ivan Chernischeff, whom the empress had long since recalled from London and put at the head of the marine department, was then deeply engaged in a quarrel with the college of admiralty, and that quarrel had occasioned some delay

* Plestscheyef obtained in the sequel the rank of vice-admiral. He drew up an account of his expedition in Ægypt; but in it he mentions not a word of the money that he gave to the Copt Risk, to procure for him the favour of Ali-bey.—See the whole of this narrative in the “Varieties of Literature,” vol. i. p. 477.

in the expedition of an affair of little consequence. Catharine complained of this delay, and thought no more of it. She was well acquainted with the obstinacy and the extreme incapacity of Chernischeff; but she continued him in his place, because she had laid it down as a settled principle, to change as seldom as possible her ministers and her ambassadors. When she sent for Ivan Chernischeff to communicate to him the news of the affair of Tschesmè, the minister, imagining that she meant to speak again to him of his quarrel, began, as he entered the apartment:—"I assure you, madam, that it was not "my fault."—"Oh! I know that very well," returned the empress, "but it is not the less certain."—"Alas! yes, madam, and I am very sorry "for it."—"What! you are sorry that the "Turks have no longer any fleet?" said the empress, smiling; and she then communicated to him the contents of the dispatches which she had just received.

The joy was extreme at the court of Petersburg. Magnificent festivities were given to celebrate the victory of Tschesmè, and the empress afterwards caused a palace to be built*, and the foundations of a town to be laid, for

* See before, p. 172.

consecrating

consecrating to posterity the remembrance of so glorious an event.

1771

Count Alexius Orloff returned in all haste to Petersburg *, to repose upon his laurels, to enjoy his triumphs, and to solicit new means for extending his conquests in the Archipelago. On his appearance the festivities were renewed, and he was decorated by his sovereign with the grand riband of St. George.

Greece
Egypt

He laid before the council a plan by which he proposed to render himself master of all Greece, and to rescue Ægypt from the ottoman empire. He concluded by saying that he would pass the dangerous passage of the Dardanelles, and that for all these important purposes he requested no more than 10,000,000 of rubles.— “I grant you twenty,” immediately replied Catharine; “for I am resolved that you shall want “for nothing.” At the same time orders were issued for the equipment of a new squadron, to reinforce that which was already in the Archipelago.

During the state of extreme loss and misfortune to which the Turks were reduced by the war, that empire seemed convulsed in all its parts; order, submission, and respect to govern-

* He arrived there the 15th of March 1771.

ment

ment seemed totally at an end; massacre and confusion took place; and, to fill up the measure of calamity, the plague now made the most cruel ravages: above a thousand persons dying daily in Constantinople for several weeks. The destruction of their fleet was better known in that metropolis, and was in itself more immediately alarming, than any other misfortune that could have happened: and, as if the dangers from without were not sufficiently terrible, the run-away sailors filled it with slaughter and confusion, and actually set fire to the city and suburbs at several times. At length these miscreants were so strengthened, by the accession of vagabonds and villains of all sorts, particularly by the crowds of deserters from the Danube, who had nothing to subsist on but plunder, that they came to an open engagement with the janissaries in the suburbs of Pera, where some thousands of them were cut to pieces, and the rest dispersed.

In the mean time, every immediate measure was taken for the security of the Dardanelles, and all the remaining ships and gallies were fitted out with the greatest expedition to assist in defending the passage. The late vizir, Moldavangi Ali-pasha, was recalled from his exile, and sent at the head of 15,000 men for the same

Jot. purpose; where the first enemies he had to encounter were the rebellious sailors, who landed in a body in spite of the capudan-pasha, and, making zeal for their religion a cloak for their avarice and licentiousness, intended to have plundered and burnt the city of Gallipoli, and to have massacred the Greeks. They were however happily disappointed in this cruel design, by the vigour and resolution of the late vizir, who severely chastised their profligacy; and, after killing a great number of them, reduced the remainder to order. Baron Tot, a french nobleman who had been consul in Tartary, and was an engineer of the first abilities, together with several others of his countrymen, were also procured, to erect new batteries on the straits, and to put the castles into a proper state of defence. By these means, together with the uncertainty of the winds and currents necessary to facilitate such an enterprise, all the attempts of the Russians, to force their passage, had hitherto proved fruitless.

Nor was the revolution in Ægypt, nor the interception of the trade from the lesser Asia and Syria by the Russians, attended with the fatal consequences to the metropolis that were expected; as amidst all its calamities it was constantly and plentifully supplied with provisions: a felicity

a felicity for which it is principally indebted to the long extent of sea-coast from the mouth of the Hellespont to the Euxine. In the mean time the winter season having obliged the Russians to quit their station near the Dardanelles, the trade through the straits was of course again opened.

While the Porte was thus fatally experiencing all the vicissitudes and havoc of war, the calamities of pestilence, and the precipitate destructive evils of anarchy, in their european dominions ; the same ruinous system of policy, and weakness and relaxation of government, extended their effects into other parts of that great empire, and produced a new and extraordinary revolution in *Ægypt*. Ali-bey, who had so long made a distinguished figure among the factions that for some years past had torn that country to pieces, at length threw off the mask ; and, taking advantage of the present state of distress and danger, boldly mounted the throne of the antient sultans of that kingdom.

Ali Bey

The Ottomans had from the beginning made but a lax use of their authority in the government of *Ægypt*. The distance and climate made it difficult to support there any considerable number of troops ; while, from its peculiar situation, and the number of barbarous nations on

its borders, who would naturally join the natives, or at least afford them shelter and protection if overcome, nothing less than an army could enforce a very strict obedience. Satisfied with the very great benefits that resulted from its being a granary to Constantinople and other parts of their dominions, as it had formerly been to antient Rome, the Turks were content with a very moderate tribute, not above one third of which came into the treasury. A garrison of janissaries was kept at Cairo, where a pasha, with the title of governor, but with little more power than what the great men of the country chose to allow him, constantly resided. The princes and grandes of the country had absolute power in their respective territories, and held a general assembly or council, every year at Cairo, where they settled the payment of the revenues, and debated upon such other national matters as demanded consideration. To prevent any restraint from the governor, or their being overawed by the janissaries, as well as from the continual quarrels among themselves, they all came attended by their armed vassals. Such assemblies, among so barbarous a people, naturally disposed to faction and treachery, presented continual scenes of bloodshed and confusion; while the governors, by occasionally supporting

one party against the other, endeavoured to derive that power and consequence from their dissensions which the authority of office was incapable of procuring.

Ali-bey, a man of strong natural parts and considerable abilities, improved upon the line of policy struck out by the governors; and, by dexterously shifting for a number of years, from one side to the other, and destroying by degrees such parties as were obnoxious to him, he at length formed one great one which swallowed up all the others. Not content with the kingdom of Ægypt, he laid claim to Syria, Palestine, and the part of Arabia that had belonged to the antient sultans. The usurper accordingly marched at the head of an army to support those pretensions, and actually subdued some of the neighbouring provinces both of Arabia and Syria.

At the same time that he was engaged in those ambitious pursuits, he was not less attentive to the establishing of a regular form of government, and of introducing order into a country that has been so long the seat of anarchy and confusion. His views were equally extended to commerce; for which purpose he gave great encouragement to the christian traders, and took off some shameful restraints and indignities,

to which they were subject in that barbarous country : he also wrote a letter to the republic of Venice, with the warmest assurances of his friendship, and that their merchants should meet with every degree of protection and safety. His great design was to make himself master of the Red Sea ; to open the port of Suez to all nations, but particularly to the Europeans, and to make Ægypt once more the great centre of commerce.

A. Orloff.
Proud of the favour of the empress, of victories of which he took the honour to himself, and of those he still intended to gain, count Alexèy Orloff departed from St. Petersburg, in order to return to the Archipelago. Having stopped some time at Vienna, he there displayed an extravagant luxury, and gave himself up to indiscretions very little worthy of the minister of a princess so discreet as Catharine. One evening being at supper with the ambassador of Russia with a numerous company, he spoke of the revolution that had cost the throne to Peter III. No one dared to put the least question concerning the death of the unfortunate czar. Alexèy Orloff related it of his own accord ; and, perceiving that all who heard him shuddered with horror, he thought he cleared himself of the crime which he had committed, by saying, " That it was a lamentable thing

" for

" for a man of so much humanity as he possessed,
" to be forced to do what he had been com-
" manded." But this repentance could not be
thought sincere. The character of Alexèy Orloff
was too well known; and the whole of his
conduct proved that his conscience was not apt
easily to take the alarm.

On leaving Vienna, Alexèy Orloff went to
rejoin the russian squadron which lay expecting
him at Leghorn; and, though in a shattered con-
dition, continued to complete the ruin of the
marine and the commerce of the Turks.

The empress had commissioned Alexèy Orloff
to cause to be painted in Italy four pictures, re-
presenting the engagements of her squadron and
the burning of the turkish fleet. Orloff made
application to a painter named Hackert. This
artist having told him that he had never seen
a ship blow up, the Russian made no hesitation of
affording him an opportunity of contemplating
such an object, and hazarded the firing of all the
vessels in the road of Leghorn for furnishing the
painter with the means of exhibiting with greater
truth the disaster of the capudan-pasha and
admiral Spiridoff*.

* The four pictures by Hackert are at present hanging in
the hall of audience at Peterhoff.

Acts of extravagance are not always crimes. But there is no crime which such an extravagant character is not capable of committing. On his departure from Petersburg he had received orders to send thither a young unfortunate lady who had been rescued from tyranny. This barbarous order was now to be accomplished.

It has already been mentioned that the empress Elizabeth had three children by her clandestine marriage with the grand-veneur Alexèy Gregorievitch Razumoffsky. The youngest of these children was a girl, brought up under the name of princess Tarrakanoff. Prince Radzivil, informed of this secret, and irritated at Catharine's trampling under foot the rights of the Poles, conceived that the daughter of Elizabeth would furnish him with a signal means of revenge. He thought that it would not be in vain if he opposed to the sovereign, whose armies were spreading desolation over his unhappy country, a rival whose mother's name should render dear to the Russians. Perhaps his ambition might suggest to him yet more lofty hopes. Perhaps he might flatter himself with being one day enabled to mount the throne on which he intended to place the young Tarrakanoff. However this be, he gained over the persons to whom the education of this princess was committed,

mitted, carried her off, and conveyed her to Rome *.

Catharine, having intelligence of this transaction, took immediate steps to frustrate the designs of prince Radzivil. Taking advantage of the circumstance of his being the chief of the confederacy of the malcontents, she caused all his estates to be seized, and reduced him to the necessity of living on the produce of the diamonds and the other valuable effects he had carried with him to Italy. These supplies were soon exhausted. Radzivil set out in order to pick up what intelligence he could concerning affairs in Poland, leaving the young Tarrakanoff at Rome, under the care of a single gouvernante, and in circumstances extremely confined. Scarcely had he reached his own country, when an offer was made to restore him his possessions, on condition that he would take his young ward to Russia. He refused to submit to so disgraceful a proposal; but he had the weakness to promise that he would give himself no farther concern about the daughter of Elizabeth. This was the price of his pardon.

* In 1767 mademoiselle de Tarrakanoff was about 12 years of age.

Alexèy Orloff, charged with the execution of the will of the empress, seized the first moment on his arrival at Leghorn, of laying a snare for the princess Tarrakanoff. One * of those intriguers who are so common in Italy, repaired immediately to Rome; and, after having discovered the lodgings of the young Russian, he introduced himself to her in a military dress and under the name of an officer. He told her that he had been brought thither by the sole desire of paying homage to a princess whose fate and fortunes were highly interesting to all her countrymen. He seemed very much affected at the state of destitution in which he found her. He offered her some assistance which necessity forced her to accept; and the traitor soon appeared to this unfortunate lady, as well as to the woman that waited on her, in the light of a saviour whom heaven had sent to her deliverance.

When he thought he had sufficiently gained their confidence, he declared that he was com-

* It was a Neapolitan, named Ribas. He afterwards came to Russia, where he married mademoiselle Anastasia, reputed daughter of M. de Betskoï, and has since been made knight of Malta, and promoted to the rank of vice-admiral of the Black Sea.

missioned by count Alexius Orloff to offer to the daughter of Elizabeth the throne that had been filled by her mother. He said that the Russians were discontented with Catharine ; that Orloff especially could never forgive her for her ingratitude and her tyranny ; and that, if the young princess would accept of the services of that general, and recompense him by the grant of her hand, it would not be long ere she saw the breaking out of that revolution which he had prepared.

Proposals so brilliant ought naturally to have opened the eyes of the princess Tarrakanoff, and shewn her the treachery of him that made them. But her inexperience and her candour permitted her not to suspect any guile. Besides, the language of the emissary of Alexius Orloff seemed analogous with the notions she had imbibed from prince Radzivil. She imagined herself destined to the throne ; and all the airy dreams that any way related to that opinion could not but encourage the deceit. She accordingly gave herself up to these flattering hopes, and with a grateful heart concurred in the designs of him who addressed her only to her destruction.

Some time after this Alexius Orloff came to Rome. His emissary had already announced him. He was received as a benefactor. However,

ever, some persons to whom the princess and her gouvernante communicated the good fortune that was promised them, advised them to be on their guard against the designs of a man whose character for wickedness had been long established, and who doubtless had too much reason to remain faithful to the empress to think of conspiring against her. Far from profiting by this good counsel, the princess was so imprudently frank as to speak of it to Alexius Orloff, who with great ease delivered his justification, and thenceforth threw a deeper shade of dissimulation and address into his speeches and behaviour. Not satisfied with fanning the ambition of the young Russian, he put on the semblance of a passion for her, and succeeded so far as to inspire her with a true one. So soon as he was assured of it, he conjured her to enter into a union with him by the most sacred ties. She unhappily consented; and it was even with joy that the poor unfortunate lady promised to solemnize a marriage which must consummate her ruin. She thought that the title of spouse of count Alexius Orloff would shelter her invincibly from those treacheries which she was taught to apprehend. She entertained not the least suspicion that a man could make religion and the most sacred titles subservient to the destruction

of an innocent victim. But, alas, was any religion, was any title sacred to the barbarian into whose snares she had fallen? He who could strangle the unfortunate Peter III. could he dread to dishonour the daughter of Elizabeth*?

Feigning a desire that the marriage ceremony should be performed according to the ritual of the greek church, he suborned subaltern villains to disguise themselves as priests and lawyers. Thus profanation was combined with imposture against the unprotected and too confident Tarakanoff.

When Alexius Orloff was become the husband or rather the ravisher of this unhappy princess, he represented to her that their stay at Rome exposed her to too close observation, and that it would be advisable for her to go to some other city of Italy, to wait for the breaking out of the conspiracy that was to call her to the throne. Believing this advice to be dictated by love and prudence, she answered that she would follow him wherever he chose to conduct her. He brought her immediately to Pisa, where he had previously hired a magnificent palace. There he continued to treat her with marks of tender-

* The fate of the young Tarakanoff may be compared to that of the daughter of Sejanus: "..... a carnifice laqueum juxta, compressam....." Tacit. Ann. lib. v.
nefs

ness and respect. But he permitted none to come near her except persons who were entirely at his devotion ; and when she went to the play or to the public promenades, he accompanied her always himself.

The division of the Russian squadron under the command of Admiral Greig, had just entered the port of Leghorn. On relating this news to the princess, Alexius Orloff told her that his presence was necessary at Leghorn for the purpose of giving some orders, and offered to take her with him. To this she more readily consented, as she had heard much talk of the beauty of the port of Leghorn and the magnificence of the Russian ships. Imprudent lady ! the nearer she approached the catastrophe of the plot, the more she trusted to the tenderness and the sincerity of her faithless betrayer.

She departed from Pisa with her customary attendance. On arriving at Leghorn, she landed at the house of the English consul, who had prepared for her a suitable apartment, and who received her with the marks of the profoundest respect. Several ladies* were early

* It is a mistake that the lady of Admiral Greig was among them. Mrs. Greig did not accompany her husband on the voyage, but remained the whole time of his absence at St. Petersburg.

in making their visits, and sedulously attended her on all occasions. She saw herself presently surrounded by a numerous court, eager to be beforehand with all her desires, and seeming to make it their only study incessantly to procure her some new entertainment. Whenever she went out, the people ran in her way. At the theatre all eyes were directed to her box. All circumstances conspired to lull her into a fatal security. All tended to dispel the idea of any danger at hand.

It is doubtless impossible to believe that an English consul, an English admiral, and ladies of their family or acquaintance, could be so base, so inhuman, as to draw into the snare, by deceitful respect and caresses, a victim whose youth, whose beauty, whose innocence, was capable of affecting the most insensible heart. It is not to be imagined that they were in any degree privy to the plot contrived against her, and that they studiously inspired her with confidence, only the more infallibly to betray her.

The young Tarrakanoff was so far from suspecting her unfortunate situation, that, after having passed several days in a round of amusements and dissipation, she asked of herself to be shewn the Russian fleet. The idea was applauded.

The

The necessary orders were immediately given ; and the next day, on rising from table, every thing was ready at the water-side for receiving the princess. On her coming down, she was handed into a boat with magnificent awnings. The consul, and several ladies, seated themselves with her. A second boat conveyed vice-admiral Greig and count Alexius Orloff ; and a third, filled with russian and english officers, closed the procession. The boats put off from shore in sight of an immense multitude of people, and were received by the fleet, with a band of music, salutes of artillery, and repeated huzzas. As the princess came alongside the ship of which she was to go on board, a splendid chair was let down from the yard, in which being seated, she was hoisted upon deck ; and it was observed to her, that these were particular honours paid to her rank.

But no sooner was she on board than she was handcuffed. In vain she implored for pity of the cruel betrayer, whom she still called her husband. In vain she threw herself at his feet, and watered them with her tears. No answer was even vouchsafed to her lamentations. She was carried down into the hold ; and the next day the vessel set sail for Russia.

On

On arriving at Petersburg, the young victim was shut up in the fortress; and what became of her afterwards was never known*. *Tarranakoff*

In the mean time, the inhabitants of Leghorn, who had seen the princess embark, heard shortly after with horror, that instead of a grand entertainment, which she was led to expect, on board the fleet, she was put into irons. The grand duke of Tuscany, whose territory was thus so shamefully insulted, wrote immediately to Vienna and to Petersburg to complain of the outrage. But Alexius Orloff insolently braved both the complaints of Leopold and the public indignation.

An adventure that happened during count Orloff's stay at Rome, may serve to throw some

* It was affirmed by some, that the waters of the Neva, six years afterwards, put an end to her misfortunes, by drowning her in the prison, in the inundation of 1777. On the 10th of September of that year, a wind at S. S. W. raised the waters of the gulph of Finland towards the Neva, with a violence so extraordinary that it swelled that river to the height of ten feet above its usual level, and drove many vessels on shore. The author of the interesting "Memoires "secrets sur l'Italie," who some time since printed a part of these particulars, surmises that the young Tarranakoff fell in prison by the hands of the executioner. The truth is, the grounds are but very slight for rendering credible either the one or the other account.

light

light on the brutal character of the man. One evening that he was at supper in a house * with a large company, he wished to display his extraordinary strength. He with great ease broke in his hand several pieces of cristal and iron. He then took between two of his fingers an apple, which he broke into several pieces. A royal duke, brother of an illustrious monarch, was at table; one of the pieces of apple struck the prince on his face, and hurt him. Every one present was extremely affected at this accident. Alexius Orloff alone seemed entirely unmoved, and even deigned not to make the slightest apology to the duke.

Though repeatedly vanquished, the ottoman armies were easily recruited, and resisted the efforts of the Russians; like a terrible hydra, whose heads increased under the reiterated blows of Romantzoff and his inferior commanders. The russian general Veissmann crossed the Danube, and beat the Turks near Isaccia. Soon after this the grand vizir forced him to repass that river, and advanced to Bukharest with an army of 100,000 men. There the Turks were completely victorious. But no long time was

* At the house of the marchioness Gentili Bocca Paduli.

allowed

allowed them to rejoice in their successes. In three successive battles the Russians regained the upper hand.

The grand vizir retreated into the mountains of the Bulgarians ; and Romantzoff, leaving the right bank of the Danube, took up his winter-quarters in Moldavia and Valachia.

The khan of the Krimea fought valiantly for the Turks. Catharine resolved to be revenged on him, and deprive the enemy of this assistance. She had already for some time established a sort of intelligence in the Krimea. Her emissaries were secretly working to sow dissensions among the Tartars, and to draw off from the khan the confidence of his subjects. They succeeded in these endeavours; and valour completed what had been begun by intrigue.

The famous lines of Perekop had submitted, forty years before, to the intrepidity of Munich. Learning prudence by this example, the khans of the Krimea rendered this passage more difficult than it had hitherto been. Nevertheless, neither a ditch of 72 feet in width, and 42 in depth, nor 50,000 Tartars, who defended it, were able to check the career of prince Dolgorucky. By forcing this barrier that general made himself master of all the Krimea: and as

the reward of his victory, he received of the empress the surname of Krimsky *.

The khan, forced to abandon his country, to avoid falling into the power of the conqueror, retired to the dependencies of Turkey. Prince Dolgorucky immediately caused a new khan to be elected ; but neither was this such an one as the Russians wanted ; and he detached himself from their party without delay.

The grand signor, incensed that Abaza-pasha, and some other of the turkish commanders, had basely abandoned the Crimea, sent them the fatal bow-string, and caused their bleeding heads to be exposed on the gates of the seraglio.

The desertion of the Krim by the turkish commanders was not the only act of treachery of which the Porte had at that time to complain. It had just concluded †, with the court of Vienna,

* This is an ancient custom in Russia. Prince Dolgorucky received the surname of Krimsky, because he conquered the Krim ; marshal Romantzoff that of Sadunaisky, because he crossed the Danube ; Alexius Orloff that of Tschesmenskoi, because of the victory at Tschesmè ; marshal Suvaroff that of Rimmitsky ; as the famous duke Alexander had anciently received that of Nevsky or Nefsky, on account of his gaining a victory over the Swedes on the banks of the Neva.

† The 6th of July.

a secret treaty, by which that court engaged to take up arms offensively in its behalf, on condition that it would defray the expences of the war, and that it would restore at the peace a part of Valachia and some other austrian territories which it had conquered. Faithful to these engagements, the Porte began by paying the court of Vienna five millions of imperial florins*. The court of Vienna made use of it immediately : but, to the shame of the professors of the christian faith, it was in making preparations for turning its arms against the Porte itself, and to unite with Russia.

For some time past a dreadful scourge had been ravaging the interior of Russia. The plague had manifested itself in Mosco ; and the ignorance of the physicians, in conjunction with the superstition of the people, increased its fury. The physicians at first mistook the distemper for nothing more than an epidemical fever ; and the people, who saw that the physicians were not able to cure it, pursued them on all sides, and forced them into concealment in order to escape their rage. But it will be necessary to

* This sum makes 1,093,750l. sterling. Some persons pretend that the Porte reckoned only 6000 purses, or 787,500l. sterling. But the procedure of the court of Vienna is not at all the less odious.

Plague.

1770

speak somewhat more particularly on this subject. It is well known that the turkish dominions, whether from a want of due attention to cleanliness, or from whatever other cause, are more subject to this malady than the countries of Europe. The russian army, after defeating the Turks, on their entering their territories and towns as conquerors, were met by the contagion, and brought it with them to their country; where the folly of several of their generals contributed to its propagation, as if they thought, by a military word of command, to alter the nature of things. Lieutenant-general Stoffeln, at Yaffy, where the pestilence raged in the winter of 1770, issued peremptory orders, that its name should not be pronounced: he even obliged the physicians and the surgeons to draw up a declaration in writing, that it was only a spotted fever. One honest surgeon, of the name of Kluge, refused to sign it. In this manner the season of prevention was neglected; the men fell dead upon the road in heaps. Several thousand russian soldiers were by this means carried off: the number of burghers that died was never known, as they had run into the country and into the forests. At length the havoc of death reached the general's own people; he remained true to his persuasion, left

the

the town, and went into the more perilous camp: but his intrepidity availed him nothing; he died of the plague in July 1771. Assistance now arrived; but it was too late: almost all the sick were sent to die in lazarets. The desertion of the place was the only remaining remedy. Two regiments of infantry and one battalion amounted only to 400 men. To the same small number were likewise in September the regiments at Khotyim reduced, also from want of precaution. The baggages that had been packed up in the time of the plague were brought out, and opened, that the soldiers who had served the campaign in their waistcoats alone might have their coats against winter; the clothes were so infected, that the people who were employed in unfolding them were immediately attacked with mortal ulcers. In Kief no physician or surgeon had ever seen the plague; they therefore took it for a putrid spotted fever. Afterwards, but too late, they were better advised. The free intercourse at the markets and in the churches had already universally spread the miasma. Add to this, the soldiers were not restrained from robbing the infected houses of the dead; thus infecting themselves and others. Even the commandant was negligent of his duty, in not taking care, by regu-

lations and punishments, that the houses were duly cleansed and ventilated ; nay, he was covetous enough to cause whole chests full of linen and other goods to be brought out of these houses, and stowed in the vaults of his. The governor gave rise to a shameful and stupid piece of superstition, to which he was persuaded by a turkish officer taken prisoner, who purchased his freedom by it. This man wrote tickets, containing these words : “ O great “ Muhammed, have pity for this once on the “ christians, for the sake of our deliverance “ from captivity, and free them soon from “ the pestilence ! ” The governor caused the writing to be stuck on poles against the belfries of the christian churches ; the people trusted to the remedy, and were still more careless of themselves than before : the pestilence, therefore, naturally spread farther and wider. Within a few months of the year 1770, one quarter of the town alone lost upwards of 6000 persons.

With such miserable doings, it is no wonder that the dreadful distemper came by the army from Poland and from the Ukraine, about christmas 1770, even to Mosco. Alas ! here too at the beginning, an ukause was printed and published, to assure the people, that there was no pestilence, and that a false alarm had been wickedly

1770

wickedly raised among the burghers. Besides, some physicians and surgeons maintained the same thing much later. But when the empress was informed of the truth of the matter, she dispatched assistance with all speed to Kief and to Mosco. The calamity had already risen to its height in this great metropolis. The principal families left it betimes, and went into the country, and with them went all that were able: the former might indeed have gone out of clean houses; but who would answer for the others? Hence the contagion was spread through the neighbouring villages and towns, where at least 30,000 persons perished. But it may be computed, that in Mosco only the fourth part of the ordinary number of its inhabitants were left alive: however, afterwards, in December 1771, just upon the stopping of the plague, it was found by calculation, that upwards of 60,000 died there within a year not yet complete. The dead lay for three or four days in the streets where they had fallen, or where they had been thrown out from the houses; as the police had neither carts nor people enough to carry them away. The worthy general Yerapkin was making every exertion in his power, when in September the empress, who, as it is expressed in the patent, preferred the welfare of her subjects

to every other consideration, in this perilous time sent her favourite Gregory Orloff with extraordinary full powers to check the further incursions of the malady at that place, and to put an end to the evil on the spot. On this pressing exigency the sum of 100,000 rubles was immediately issued. Orloff went daily to the senate ; and every week a ukase came out. He appointed a commission of health, of which, besides a general and a state-counsellor, the most skilful physicians were members. In addition to the two pest-houses, monasteries and palaces were turned into lazarets, a building was appropriated to orphan children from the infected houses, several of the public offices were converted into places for the keeping of quarantine, and other salutary measures were adopted. At these establishments the necessary persons were put immediately upon stipends ; and all physicians and surgeons who were conspicuous for their diligence and zeal were handsomely rewarded. A new turn was given to the whole business ; and all the precautions for safety were visibly attended with due effects. But methods of cure were still apparently not to be found : very few of such as once caught the infection escaped with their lives ; their being inclosed, however, prevented its farther progress. It was
only

only the severe winter that put an end to the calamity in Mosco, as well as in the other infected places. At the beginning of September, in Mosco, died every day 800 persons; about the middle of October 700 to 600; the 21st of October only 400. The frost continued to grow more intense: on the 15th of November the plague carried off 150 persons; on the 30th still 75; but on the 4th of December only 10 died, and so continually fewer: two, three, five, and, on some intervening days, not even one; till the 6th of January 1772, the plague entirely ceased.—In the night of the 30th of December, during a violent storm of wind, a fire broke out in the imperial palace, inhabited by the newly-appointed governor, prince Volkonsky. As the structure was chiefly of timber, the whole of it, together with the church, was entirely consumed.

A more calamitous history of this unfortunate time to Mosco still remains to be related. It should seem as if the afflictive visitations to which the human race is subject from the course of Nature, and to which Nature herself at length applies the most effectual remedies, were not sufficient; the most horrid distortion of mind, fanaticism, must be brought in to increase the calamity. The superstitious populace in this metropolis

Superstition metropolis despised the precautions recommended by government, and the prescriptions of the physicians. The latter, especially such as were foreigners, frequently, as they passed through the streets, were not sure of their lives. Prayers to the pictures of the saints were held to be the only true methods of cure. This, which at first was no more than an unhappy folly, soon grew into a criminal fury. In September, a fortnight before the arrival of Gregory Orloff, a hot-brained enthusiast of the vulgar class of people, got together a number of the rabble, and declared to them that the picture of God's mother, near the Varvarskoi gate (the bridge-gate of St. Barbara leading to a chapel) had appeared to him, complaining of neglect in the worship of it, and promising by a miracle to quell the pestilence if that worship was zealously revived. At this gate he continued standing, and declared the same thing to the priests and passengers as they passed through it. The story was spread from one to the other, and none of the hearers thought of raising a doubt whether or not the man was in his right mind. The faithful from all parts of the town flocked in great multitudes to St. Barbara's gate, addressing the picture in vociferous cries, bringing ornaments of dress to hang about it, and on that and the following days

days made many considerable presents to it in gold and jewels. Now began processions, and continued in endless succession. The sick particularly pressed forward on this occasion, and such as were not sick mingled among them. The dæmon of pestilence could have found no better a helpmate than the dæmon of superstition. The primate of Mosco, the archhierèy or archbishop Amvrosi, (Ambrofius,) a virtuous and enlightened man, wished to put an end to this dreadful rage, and to that end applied for assistance to general Yerapkin, who gave him five soldiers. These he sent in silence late in the winter-evening to the Varvarskoï gate, to fetch away the picture that was now become the cause of such public affliction. But neither night nor day was the gate free from a fanatical tumult before the painted mother of God. The soldiers were driven off. The mob poured invectives on the archhierèy, and, one and all crying out that he was a heretic, ran to the church-belfries and rang all the bells, to rouze the whole populace of the city, and bring them together to inform them of the intended violation of the holy figure. Every one rose in haste, and ran into the streets imagining it to be an alarm of fire; but upon inquiry were informed of what had happened; the prudent were but few in number, and

and the rest made a common cause with the insurgents and joined the throng. The prelate in the mean time had fled to the Donskoï monastery without the city. This was reported abroad in the morning; the wild multitude tumultuously ran thither, and found the archbishop in the celebration of divine worship. Neither the place, nor the station, nor the age of the man, neither his dress nor his present employment, made any impression on the enthusiastic barbarians; they fell upon the venerable old man, threw him to the ground, beat him on the head, and completed his murder with knives. The body remained till the following day lying before the gate of the monastery. Thus fell this martyr to illumination, the generous friend of his ungrateful countrymen.

The furious multitude now ran back into the city. A party of them attacked the Danii-lofskoï monastery, now converted into a lazaret, drove the pestilent out of it, and ill-treated the surgeons. The same thing they did at the quarantine house. The archiepiscopal residence was plundered, the most valuable of the goods were taken away, the rest destroyed: the store-cellars under it, hired by a merchant for wine and other liquors, were emptied. Several officers who attempted to check their excesses,

turned back with bleeding heads. The madness increased every moment, and the cry was now against the physicians and surgeons, whom they imagined to have occasioned the pestilence. An Italian dancing-master happened to come in their way : he must certainly be a doctor ; they broke both his arms and his legs, and in that condition inhumanly left him lying in the street. The house of a physician was attacked and plundered. They then proceeded to the great hospital, from which the director and attendants, and even the soldiers who amounted to 100 men with loaded fire-arms, all ran away. All the physicians and surgeons had already made their escape into the country.—But now, towards evening the brave general Yerapkin, at the head of 150 soldiers, carabineers and hussars, with two field pieces, marched up to the turbulent crew ; the fight was obstinate and lasted till midnight : 250 rebels were laid dead upon the street, 300 taken prisoners, and of those that dispersed many were afterwards found wounded and dead. Early on the following morning, the general rode at the head of his men with drawn sabres through the streets of Mosco, and placed picquets in proper places. The day after, a regiment of infantry, from the villages, entered the town. The governor, the deputy-governor, police-master,
general

general of artillery, and all whose duty it was to be vigilant in preserving peace and order in the city, had prudently forsaken Mosco. Catherine rewarded the brave Yerapkin in a truly imperial manner.

Let us figure to ourselves the state of that enormous city while these tumults lasted; at a time when the minds of all men were oppressed with grief at the dreadful visitation of the plague, when every one knew that each day 800 persons fell around him. But during the days of confusion it was impossible to think of enumerating the dead or of visiting the sick. The number of those who died must have been very great, as the pestilence increased beyond all proportion by the mixture of the people. From the 1st to the 9th of October, the calculation was renewed, and the dead were computed at 5400; till the numbers afterwards decreased in the above-mentioned ratio, by the counteraction of the frost.—At the re-appearance of spring 1772, the return of the calamity was apprehended; the care of the government was therefore redoubled. It was published throughout the city, that whoever kept in concealment any goods or other things in houses that had been infected, even though they were stolen, he might freely produce them; and, instead of punishment, should receive

from

from 10 to 20 rubles ; farther, that such articles as had been in the possession of infected persons, and consequently must be burnt, should be paid for according to their full value. This had the desired effect : the people very readily produced what they had, according to the tenor of the proclamation, as by so doing they got money and lost nothing. The visiting of the sick, of whatever nature were their complaints, was sedulously continued. Travellers underwent a strict examination, and were obliged to remain a certain time in quarantine-houses, of which, between Mosco and Petersburg alone there were no less than seven. However, at the close of January 1772 the plague had entirely disappeared, which, according to some statements, during its continuance, from December 1771 to December 1772, had cost the russian empire 133,299 persons.

Concerning the murder of the archbishop, some accounts pretend, that after having caused the sacred picture to be removed from its place, the people became more furious *, and accusing the

* It is difficult to imagine to what length the Russians carry their fanaticism for these pictures of the saints, which they call bohgs or gods. The figure of some saint is painted in gaudy colours on a piece of board, and the silver, gold,

the archbishop of inhumanity and sacrilege, they broke open the doors of a monastery in which the prelate had sought an asylum : the archbishop then thought to escape the rage of the multitude by hiding himself in the sanctuary, where, ac-

gold, or diamonds about the hands and face of it constitute its value. When a Russian enters a room, the first thing he does is to salute the god, which is placed against the wall in one corner, by bowing and crossing himself. St. Nicholas, St. John the baptist, St. Sergius, and St. Alexander Nefsky, are the figures in most request, except the bogoroditza, the mother of God. Every one has his particular patron, to which he applies in cases of need. When his neighbours see that he succeeds in the culture of his fields or in trade, they borrow or hire his god, to which they attribute his prosperity. They then pay the borrowed figure all sorts of reverence and offerings. There are in some towns god-markets, and the sole difference between the chaffering, is, that in this the word money must never be pronounced. Some people will never go to their daily labour, or set out on a journey, without taking their god with them ; and if a stranger call at their house in the mean time, and asks to salute the *bog*, the wife replies that he is gone into the fields, or on a journey. St. George is a protector of horned cattle. The horses are looked after by St. Anthony, and the fish by St. Jonas ; one cures one disease and another another.— But perhaps it is unjust to deride any religion for its superstitions ; all national establishments have them under one form or another ;

Facies non omnibus una
Nec diversa tamen, qualem decet esse fororum.

cording

cording to the greek ritual, the priests alone have a right to enter. Unfortunately, a child seeing him pass by, ran and told where he was. The rabble rushed into the church, and seizing on the old man, dragged him to the gate in order to kill him. The unfortunate archbishop, perceiving that his death was inevitable, conjured the assassins to let him go up to the altar to communicate once more. To this they consented; and stood calmly looking on while the venerable prelate was performing the pious ceremony; which he had no sooner finished, than they sprung upon him again, and, hauling him out of the church, barbarously put him to death in the manner already related. The soldiers of the police arrived too late to save the archbishop's life; but they arrested some of the leaders of the mob, who were knotted to death.

Great praise was certainly due to count Gregory Orloff for his conduct while the plague was raging at Mosco. The empress, as we have seen, had already sent assistance to stop the progress of the contagion; but it was attended with no effect. It was necessary that some man of authority should go thither to awe the populace, and make them submit to the regulations prescribed, and to the observance of more cleanliness than usual. Gregory Orloff had the

courage to go and brave both the pestilence and superstition. He repaired to Mosco with extraordinary promptitude; he prohibited and prevented all kinds of assemblies; he himself visited the persons afflicted with the epidemical distemper; he procured them all the assistance they wanted; and he took particular care to order the surgeons and the officers who seconded him, to see to the burning of the cloaths of the sick who fell victims to this terrible scourge; till the malady at last yielded to the unceasing attentions of count Gregory Orloff and the severity of the winter.

On his return to St. Petersburg, Gregory Orloff found in Catharine a grateful sovereign. That princess caused a column to be erected and a medal to be struck, as memorials to posterity of the service he had rendered his country.

The pestilence had not only attacked the interior parts of Russia: the russian and ottoman armies, who were fighting on the banks of the Danube, were infected with it. They spread it in Poland; and this it was that served as a pretence for the invasion which had long been meditating by the king of Prussia.

The empress was adding from day to day to the weight of the yoke which she had lain upon Poland. Her troops pursued on all sides

the routed confederates of Bar, and pillaged or ravaged their possessions. That princess herself did not disdain to partake in the spoil. They carried off the famous library of prince Radzivil, containing an invaluable collection of lithuanian history, and it was transported to Petersburg, from whence it undoubtedly will never return. But at the very time that so odious a depredation was carrying on, Catharine transmitted to Warsaw declarations, in which she spoke of nothing but her equity, her beneficence, and the desires she was cherishing for the pacification of Poland.

The Poles, irritated at the tyranny of the Russians, were incessantly making new efforts to free themselves from it. They believed their unhappy king was in concert with the empress; and in that persuasion they attempted to revenge upon him the miseries which she was bringing on them. The confederates had elected for their general a polish nobleman named Pulaufsky, a man of consummate intrepidity, and so passionately devoted to the cause of liberty, that he made no hesitation of serving the most righteous of causes by criminal means.

Pulaufsky resolved to get possession of the king's person, and trusted the execution of

his project to three other confederates*, of whose boldness and capacity he was well acquainted. After having taken an oath to their general either to deliver to him the king, or to put him to death if they could not bring him off alive, the three chiefs and 40 dragoons, disguised as peasants, entered Warsaw by different routes. They learnt the following Sunday † that the king was to pass the evening at Prince Chartorinsky's, his uncle. Some of them then went and posted themselves without the city, while the others were lurking about in ambush in the way which the king was to pass. At about 10 o'clock at night that prince, accompanied by 14 or 15 persons, and having one of his aides-de-camp in his carriage, were returning to the palace, when all at once the conspirators advanced, and bade the coachman stop. At the same time pistols were several times discharged at the carriage. One of the heyducque's being struck with a ball, fell down ‡. The rest of the king's suite, without excepting the aid-de-camp, took to flight. One of the assassins fired a pistol at the king, and pierced his hat. Another

* Lukauksky, Stravensky, and Kosinsky.

† The 3d of September. ‡ He died the day after.

made a stroke at his head, and gave him a deep wound. After this they took him by the collar, and dragged him between their horses along the darkest streets. Perceiving soon that he began to breathe hard, and that it was impossible for him to keep up with them on foot, they made him get upon a horse, and on their coming to the fossé which surrounds Warsaw, they forced him to take the leap with them. The horse on which the king rode fell and broke his leg. The king received a hurt in his foot. They then mounted his majesty on another horse. One of the chiefs plucked off his order of the black eagle of Prussia, and the cross of diamonds that was appendant to the riband. This done, the greater part of the conspirators dispersed. Seven of them alone, under the orders of Kosinsky, remained with the king, and wandered about with him a long time in the dark, endeavouring to avoid the beaten paths. Soon after, they found themselves in a forest only one league distant from Warsaw. The voices of some russian patrols were heard. The conspirators were frightened, and fled. The king remained alone with Kosinsky: but, not daring to call for assistance, for fear that Kosinsky might kill him, he tried to persuade him to let him escape. Kosinsky hesitated a considerable

time. His oath stood in his way. At length, however, he yielded to the solicitations of the king; and, after having implored his pardon on his knees, he conducted him to a mill which stood at no great distance. The king, without making himself known, immediately wrote a billet, which he dispatched by a countryman to the colonel of his guards.

Warsaw was in the utmost consternation. The king's hat had been found all covered with blood; this naturally led to the belief that his majesty was dead. But as soon as it was heard that he had escaped from his assassins, the people gave themselves up to transports of joy.

Several of the villains were taken, and perished on the scaffold. Kosinsky obtained his pardon. He retired into Italy, where the king settled on him a pension. As to general Pulaufsky *, he published a manifesto, in which he declared that he had taken no share in the atrocious attempt against the polish monarch. This declaration was believed by no one.

* Pulaufsky went afterwards to America, where he had the command of a legion in the service of the united states; and, being on a visit to M. d'Estaing at the siege of Savannah, in 1779, he was killed by a cannon ball by the side of that general.

The danger which Stanislaus Augustus had run, furnished the Russians with a new pretext for pursuing the confederates of Bar, and for preparing the dismemberment of Poland. But was Catharine in want of pretexts? It will presently be seen that she had so ordered matters as to be able to do without them.

1772. The Russians and the Ottomans were equally in want of peace. Their armies, weakened by numerous battles, by successive fatigues, and by the contagious distemper, were always recruiting and always diminishing in greater proportion. The squadron of Alexius Orloff still maintained the dominion of the grecian seas; but the long sojourn of the Russians in a climate so different from their own, and the intemperance in which they indulged, had brought on an epidemic disease which threatened to carry off every sailor of the fleet. The capudan-pasha, ambitious to retaliate the disasters he had suffered, was busily employed in preparing new armaments in Constantinople, and was in hopes to bring out against his conquerors a squadron more formidable than that which had fallen a prey to the flames. Baron Tott, a french officer in the service of the Porte, overcame the ignorance of the Turks, and had introduced into their arsenals such order and activity as was

dangerous to their enemies. The valiant Mus-soum Oglou had risen, for the second time, to the post of grand vizir, and had resumed the command of the army of the Danube. Notwithstanding this, the two powers entered upon a negotiation by the intervention of the austrian and prussian ministers. An armistice was agreed upon* ; and a congress was appointed to meet at Fokshiani.

This appeared to be a favourable opportunity to the schemes of count Gregory Orloff. He procured the honour of being sent to treat with the plenipotentiaries of the divan. He had long been desirous of sharing the throne which he had secured to Catharine. He thought that, by obtaining peace for Russia, he should acquire an everlasting claim upon the gratitude of the empire, and surmount the difficulties that had been opposed to his ambition. But it was this precisely which gave birth to new ones.

Catharine had been, and was still, much attached to Orloff. Orloff, on the contrary, had never felt any affection for Catharine, but what arose from gratitude and ambition. Proud of the favour of his sovereign, he shewed him-

* This armistice was signed by the russian minister Simolin, and by Seid Abdukerim effendi Mukabedbadzi, grand notary of the divan.

self zealous to deserve it: but when once he thought that he had acquired sufficient grounds for his pretensions, his ardour began to cool; and he even assumed a distant behaviour. The more Catharine wished to bring him back to his usual attentions, the more he seemed inclined to retreat, and to seek his amusement in the company of other ladies. The empress could not but resent this ungrateful conduct, and be shocked at the insensibility from whence it proceeded. However, on account of her fondness for Bobrinsky, the child of Orloff, she did not discard him at once. This boy she privately brought up in one of the suburbs of the city, often going to see him under a borrowed name, and in an artful disguise. It was said that, to remedy his inconstancy, and from affection to the child, a proposal was made him of a clandestine marriage: that he rejected the offer with disdain, presuming himself not unworthy of sitting beside her on a throne which he at first procured her, and had hitherto upheld. Catharine, surprised, dissembled her displeasure for a time; but conceiving that the pride of her favourite might be attended with consequences fatal to her repose, she resolved, without farther delay, to get the better of an attachment which exposed her to too great humiliation.

Though

Though there was no open misunderstanding between Panin and count Gregory Orloff, he was not the less desirous of the downfall of this favourite. Too sagacious, and certainly too timid, to attack him to his face, he missed no opportunity for giving him a side-blow. Orloff was far from imitating the minister in this procedure. He never hated any one, though he was hated by many. His arrogance had procured him a great number of enemies ; his favour had raised him up many more. All were pleased at seeing him retire from court ; and the empress partook in the satisfaction of her courtiers. She was in hopes that his absence would completely put an end to the remainder of the attachment she had cherished for him.

Panin, who attentively watched the inclination of her majesty, was not long in perceiving that she often looked with complacency on a sub-lieutenant of the guards, named Vassilt-schikoff. He immediately thought of using this young man to the overthrow of Orloff. Zachar Chernicheff, to whom the arrogance of the favourite was still more odious than to Panin, gladly seconded the scheme of the minister. Both of them thought that the grand duke, who was not ignorant that Orloff had the presumption to aspire to the throne, would not fail to behold with

with satisfaction whatever had a tendency to keep him from it. Every art was therefore employed to flatter the new inclination of the empress. Orloff was at the same time represented to her as a man of unbounded ambition, who had only solicited to be employed in negotiating the peace at Fokshiani, in order to betray the interests of Russia, by artfully procuring for himself the sovereignty of Moldavia and Valachia. It was the easier to raise suspicions against him in the mind of Catharine, as she found his rival more agreeable to her from day to day.

Vassiltchikoff pleased because he was young and well made : but he was deficient in intellectual improvement, in talents, in experience, and even in boldness. Perhaps, if it had depended on himself alone, he would never have succeeded with the empress : but he was not left without support. Prince Baratinsky, expert in the arts of intrigue, was on this occasion neither sparing of his counsels nor of contrivances*. Vassiltchikoff was benefited by his cares ; for his docility served him instead of merit. The empress was so satisfied with him, that she appointed him her chamberlain, made him mag-

* Prince Baratinsky took upon him to bring about the first interview of the empress and her new favourite.

nificent presents, and treated him often in public with a familiarity that easily betrayed the understanding that subsisted between them.

When Catharine proposed to the imperious Orloff to enter into secret nuptials, that favourite was pleased with the thought that his refusal would only sharpen the desire of the sovereign, and that the access to the throne would be easier to him. Accustomed to an affection of which he had the tenderest pledges, he imagined it impossible to lose the heart of the empress. What was he to think on learning that she had taken advantage of his absence for accepting the officiousness of a new admirer? His mind was at first divided between astonishment and rage: but his pride soon came to his relief; and he thought that his presence would be sufficient to revive a flame which could not be quite extinct. Full of this idea, he forgot the negotiations, the peace, all the concerns of the empire, and left Fokshiani without even asking permission of the empress, and arrived at the gates of Petersburg. At the instant of his appearance, the officer on guard advanced towards his carriage, and shewed him the order which he had, not to let him enter the city. Orloff kept a profound silence, and took the road to one of his country-seats.

Two days previous to the coming of Orloff to Petersburg, intelligence was received that he had quitted Fokshiani. This sudden return had excited much uneasiness at court. The empress, who was well acquainted with the violence of his temper, and was apprehensive that he might make his appearance in spite of her, gave orders to double the guard of the palace, and to place centinels at the gate of the new favourite. Not yet put completely at ease by these precautions, she caused the locks of his apartments to be changed, of which Orloff had the key. But these cares were useless : there was nothing to fear from Orloff. The moment it was known that he was out of favour, he had not a partisan left, and his enemies stepped forward from all parts.

Orloff beheld his situation in the full extent of its danger ; but his courage remained unshaken. When the officers came, in the name of the empress, to require the demission of his employments, he haughtily refused to comply. Her majesty could easily punish the subject who resisted her will : she rather chose to treat with indulgence the man for whom she had long entertained a regard. A compromise was entered upon with Orloff ; and, overcome by the bounty which his sovereign still vouchsafed to shew him,

he

he consented to retire from Petersburg, and set out upon a journey through various parts of Europe. As a recompence for his submission, he received 100,000 rubles, the brevet of a pension of 150,000, a magnificent service of plate, and an estate with 6000 peasants upon it. He had already obtained a patent of prince of the roman empire. Catharine chose that he should take the title, desirous, doubtless, that her former favourite should appear to the eyes of foreign nations with a splendor worthy of the situation which he had enjoyed.

This part of Catharine's conduct seems to indicate a degree of weakness. But no: it was not inconsistent with the firmness of her character to yield to circumstances, when a different conduct must oblige her to compliance. She knew that, by punishing prince Orloff, she would affright all those who had served her. She wished to persuade them that her gratitude even survived her affections.

C H A P. VII.

Rupture of the congress of Fokshiani.—Conferences at Bukharest.—Partition of Poland.—Peace of Kainardgi.—Emigration of the Kalmouks.—Dismissal of the favourite Vassiltschikoff.—Duke Anthony Ulric refuses his liberty.—First marriage of the grand duke.—Journey of Diderot to St. Petersburg.—Magnificence of Catharine.—Description of her person.—Her way of life.—Patriotic exertions.—Order of St. George.

1772. THE congress of Fokshiani was opened* in such a manner as to afford great hopes

* The congress opened the 2d of August. The plenipotentiaries were under tents ; and the conferences were held in a kiosk, which the Russians had caused to be constructed for that purpose. Fokshiani is at the distance of about 16 miles to the north of Bukharest in Valachia. Nothing could afford a stronger contrast, than the magnificence of the russia ministers, opposed to the ottoman simplicity. The former approached in four grand coaches, preceded by hussars, and attended by 160 domestics suitably habited. The turkish ministers were on horseback, with about 60 servants, as plainly appareled and accoutred as themselves. Prince Orloff was all over one blaze of jewels : on his breast was the empress's portrait set with brilliants, together with the ensigns of the several orders with which he had been invested ; all of which, as well as his epaulet and

hopes of an approaching peace. The ottoman ministers presented the Russians with superb carpets, very fine stuffs, and excellent arms : and Osman effendi, who first broke silence, said, “ That “ the grand signor his master had recommended “ him to serve God, and to love peace.”

The Russians offered to Osman and his colleagues diamonds and precious stones elegantly set, a variety of trinkets of gold, and a quantity of rich furs ; on delivering which they answered, that they also were lovers of peace and justice. However, they demanded such great sacrifices, that the Turks were disgusted with their proposals. After much fruitless altercation, the plenipotentiaries separated.

Some time afterwards, the negotiations were resumed at Bukharest between marshal Ro-

and buckles, and several other parts of his dress, shone with diamonds. On the other hand, Osman effendi was clothed in a robe of green camlet faced with ermine, and had nothing to distinguish him but a gold-headed cane. It would appear as if riches and magnificence had displayed their treasures in the wilds of Scythia ; and that ancient simplicity had retired to the voluptuous nations of Asia. M. Obrefkoff, late minister at the Porte, attended prince Orloff. The austrian and prussian ministers at the same place, having received a present of 50 purses, amounting to about 25,000 dollars, each, from the grand signor, besides a fixed daily allowance for their expences, attended also at the opening of the congress.

mantzoff and the grand vizir' Mussum Oglou. These two warriors, who had so often fought against each other, were not ignorant how much their armies were in want of rest ; but their conferences were as unfruitful as those of Fokshianî. The term of the armistice was expired. The pacifiers had no longer any thoughts of war.

During all the time that these negotiations had been going on, new preparations had been making for recommencing hostilities. The Russians had concluded, with the new khan of the Krimea, a treaty by which that prince declared himself independent on the grand signor, and threw himself under the protection of the empress. The Porte, incensed at the defection of the Tartars, no less than at the cession they had made to the Russians of the forts of Kertsch and Yenicaly, which command the freights of Keppa, together with the territories belonging to them, sent into the Euxine a strong squadron of galliots and chebecs. Catharine had already sent thither a considerable fleet, and had dispatched to it several English and Dutch officers, particularly the captains Dennison, Perry, and Kinsbergen, under the command of admiral sir Charles Knowles.

But an object of higher importance at that time occupied the mind of Catharine. She saw

herself at length on the point of reaping the fruit of the troubles and divisions which she had been sowing among the Poles. For a long time in agreement with the king of Prussia, she left to that prince the care of procuring the consent of the court of Vienna to the dismemberment of Poland. She was, moreover, very sure that she would have but few obstacles to overcome on the part of the other powers. France had then a minister not much endowed with foresight *. England was bound to Russia by its commerce. The states bordering on the Baltic might be jealous at seeing the Russians and the Prussians gaining ports upon that sea ; but none of them had either the means or the temerity to make head against them. The Ottomans were scarcely more to be dreaded. How should they be in a condition to send succours to Poland, when they were so badly able to defend themselves, and saw themselves attacked in all parts of their vast empire ? Catharine, in short, was only afraid of the refusal of the court of Vienna ; but Frederic promised her the accession of that court.

* The duke d'Aiguillon, who had been put at the head of the department of foreign affairs, was more qualified for paying attendance on the intrigues of the boudoir and court cabals, than to balance the interests of Europe, and to support the honour of the french nation.

Frederic,

Frederic, without hazarding any thing, might make her that promise. He had been long acquainted, by the relations of his ministers, with the character of the heir of the house of Austria.

When Joseph II. in 1769, had an interview with him at Neiss in Silesia, the prussian monarch, profiting by the ascendant he had acquired from his experience and his fame, proposed to the young emperor the first partition of Poland. Joseph II. pleased with the idea of extending his dominion, beheld with joy the project of the king of Prussia; but deferred to enter into any engagement to concur in it, till he should have conferred upon the subject with the old prince Kaunitz, by whose counsels he was guided. Kaunitz applauded the predatory plan. Some time after this* the monarchs had a second interview, at Neustadt in Austria; and the dismemberment of Poland was finally settled.

The plague, which had been ravaging the frontiers of Poland since the foregoing year, furnished the king of Prussia with an occasion for advancing his troops pretty far into polish Prussia. The emperor had the same pretext for marching his into such of the provinces as lay most conveniently for him.

* In 1770.

Joseph II. seemed about to give succours to the confederates of Bar. His last treaty obliged him even to join with the Turks against the Russians; but that prince entertained very different designs; and he was so well practised in the arts of dissimulation, that the confederates, deceived by his promises, regarded for a long time as their defenders the soldiers who were come to make a prey of their country.

The foreign armies extended from one end of Poland to the other, and acted equally against the confederates, who were soon obliged to disperse. The greater part returned to their homes. The rest went to publish abroad among foreign nations their complaints and their misfortunes.

All Europe had its eyes fixed on Poland. It could not be conceived why three formidable powers, in a time of profound peace, should seize upon a country, the independence whereof had been guaranteed by the most solemn treaties. Mankind were likewise at a loss to know what might be the drift of the negotiations which continually employed these powers. It was at length discovered. The minister of the emperor was the first who notified the treaty of Petersburg to the king and the senate of Poland. The

ambassador of Russia and the envoy of Prussia presented to them, almost immediately upon it, declarations in support of that treaty.

We shall here insert the declaration of baron Stackelberg, minister of Russia, to shew what false and insidious language the authors of the desolations dared to hold :

“ The powers in the vicinity of Poland have been so often involved in the troubles which almost every vacancy of the throne has excited in that kingdom, that from the recollection of the past it behoved them to give the most serious attention to the affairs of the polish nation, as soon as, by the death of the late king, Augustus III, the throne was become vacant.

“ Urged by these considerations, and desirous of preventing the dreadful effects of those dissensions, which, as in former instances, might have arisen at this last vacancy of the throne, the court of St. Petersburg hastened to take all possible measures to unite the citizens of Poland in favour of the candidate who should appear to be most worthy of the throne, most agreeable to his fellow-citizens, and most acceptable to the neighbouring powers.

“ This court applied herself at the same time, and with equal zeal, to the rectifying of many abuses and defects in the constitution, which had been equally prejudicial to Poland and her neighbours.

“ The court of Berlin seconded the attempts of her ally. And the court of Vienna, desirous, on her part, of contributing to the success of such laudable views, but willing, at the same time, to avoid the danger of augmenting the difficulties and intricacies which might arise from multi-

“ plying the number of thofe who undertook openly and
 “ directly to settle the affairs of Poland, thought proper
 “ to obferve the moft exact neutrality, with regard both to
 “ the arrangement of the affairs of Poland, and the war
 “ which was afterwards kindled on this ſubject between
 “ Russia and the Porte.

“ The immediate confequencies of theſe meafures were
 “ the free and legal election of Stanislaus Augustus*,
 “ reigning king of Poland, and the forming of many uſeful
 “ and falutary eſtabliſhments. In a word, every thing
 “ ſeemed to promise to Poland and her neighbours a ſirm
 “ and laſting tranquillity.

“ But unhappily, in the midſt of theſe promising appear-
 “ ances, the ſpirit of diſcord feized upon one part of the
 “ nation: citizen armed againſt citizen; the ſons of faction
 “ feized the reins of authority; and laws, and order, and
 “ public ſafety, and justice, and police, and commerce, and
 “ agriculture, all are either gone to ruin, or ſtand on the
 “ brink of deſtruclion. And the excefſes of every kind,
 “ natural confequencies of ſuch an anarchy, will bring on
 “ the total diſſolution of the ſtate, if not timely prevented.

“ The conneclions between nations which border on each
 “ other are ſo intimate, that the ſubjects of the neighbour-
 “ ing powers haye already felt the moft diſagreeable effects
 “ from theſe diſorders. Theſe powers are obliged, at a
 “ great expence, to take meafures of precaution, in order
 “ to ſecure the tranquillity of their own frontiers; they are
 “ expoſed to the uncertain but poſſible confequencies of the
 “ entire diſſolution of Poland; to the danger of ſeeing their

* And it was to the Poles that the minister Stackelberg had the auſſurance to ſay, that the election of Poniatofſky had been free and legal!

“ mutual

“ mutual harmony and good friendship destroyed ; the
“ maintenance of which, at the same time that it secures
“ their own peace and tranquillity, is a matter of the
“ highest importance to all Europe.

“ From this view of things it will appear, that nothing
“ can be of a more urgent necessity than to apply an imme-
“ diate remedy to evils from which the neighbouring nations
“ have already experienced the most disagreeable effects ;
“ and the consequences of which, if not timely prevented,
“ must bring on such changes in the political system of
“ this part of Europe, as may be fatal to the general
“ tranquillity,

“ Impelled by reasons so many and so weighty, her
“ majesty the empress of all the Russias, her majesty the
“ empress dowager queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and
“ his majesty the king of Prussia, find themselves under
“ a necessity of taking a decisive part, in circumstances
“ so very critical. And their said majesties have determined
“ among themselves, without loss of time, and with one
“ accord, to take the most effectual and best-combined
“ measures, for the purpose of re-establishing tranquillity
“ and good order in Poland, to stop the present troubles,
“ and to put the ancient constitution of that kingdom, and
“ the liberties of the people, on a sure and solid found-
“ ation.

“ But whilst they take advantage of that mutual friend-
“ ship and harmony which happily subsists between them at
“ present, in order to prevent the absolute ruin and arbit-
“ trary dissolution of Poland ; they cannot but be sensible
“ how little it is in their power to promise themselves in
“ future periods the same happy concurrence. And as
“ they have respectively very considerable claims on the
“ possessions of the republic, which they cannot permit
“ themselves to expose to the hazard of possible contin-

" gencies, they have therefore determined among them-
" selves to assert these their ancient rights and lawful
" claims, which each of them will be ready to justify in time
" and place by authentic records and solid reasons; but for
" which the situation of the republic will never leave them
" hopes of obtaining justice in the ordinary course of pro-
" ceeding.

" In consequence hereof her majesty the empress of all
" the Russias, her majesty the empress dowager queen of
" Hungary and Bohemia, and his majesty the king of
" Prussia, having communicated reciprocally their re-
" spective rights and claims, and being mutually con-
" vinced of the justice thereof, are determined to secure
" to themselves a proportionable equivalent, by taking
" immediate and effectual possession of such parts of the
" territories of the republic as may serve to fix more natural
" and sure bounds between her and the three powers: the
" said three powers engaging to give hereafter an exact
" specification of their respective quotas; and renouncing
" from the present moment all revival of right, demand, or
" claim, on account of damages sustained, debt, interest, or
" any other pretence whatever, which they might other-
" wise have or form on the possessions or subjects of the
" republic.

" Their said majesties have thought it right to notify
" these their intentions to the whole polish nation in general;
" inviting, at the same time, all orders and ranks thereof to
" banish, or at least to suspend, all spirit of discord and
" delusion, in order that, a diet being legally assembled,
" they may co-operate with their said majesties in establishing,
" on a firm and solid foundation, the good order and tran-
" quillity of the nation, and may at the same time ratify,
" by public and solemn acts, the exchange of the titles,
" pretensions, and claims of each of their majesties, against
" the

" the equivalents of which they have respectively taken
" possession.

(Signed) " STACKELBERG.
" Given at Warsaw, September 2, 1772 *."

It has since been seen how faithfully these three powers adhered to their renunciation!

The indignant Poles cried out against the injustice. They claimed the intervention of the potentates guarantees of the treaty of Oliva; a treaty that had assured to them the integrity of their territory, and which had long been regarded as the grand charter of the north. Some of these potentates made remonstrances, not less unavailing than the complaints of the Poles. Not content with having already seized on a part of the provinces of Poland, the three imperial and royal spoliators insisted that a diet should solemnly make to them the cession of these provinces. The diet was immediately convoked and assembled †. Promises and money were lavished to gain over the deputies. Nevertheless the majority of the diet for a long time

* This manifesto was delivered on the 18th of September by baron Stackelberg, minister from the court of Petersburg; and by the sieur de Benoit, minister from the court of Berlin; and on the 26th of September by baron Rjevitch, minister from the court of Vienna.

† The 19th of April.

refused

refused their consent to the dismemberment. Provoked at a resistance which had not been expected, the ministers of the three courts threatened the diet with the full animadversion of their sovereigns. They said, that they would cause the king to be arrested and deposed; and it was privily circulated by their emissaries, that if the diet refused its compliance, Warsaw should be delivered up to pillage. By repeated allurements and stratagems, the consent of the diet was at length obtained. It issued at the same time a decree to confine to a small number of days the time of their sittings*, and it appointed commissioners to settle with the ministers of the three courts the conditions of the partition. It may easily be imagined that these conditions were dictated by the ministers themselves. They were signed in the month of September following.

Some nobles of the usurped provinces had the courage to protest against the treaty, and to publish manifestos. But of what avail were these solitary exclamations against numerous armies?

Previous to the convocation of the diet, and during the whole of its continuance, the king had loudly declared against the partition. Not-

* It broke up in the month of May.

withstanding

withstanding this, it was pretended that he secretly favoured it, and persons who knew his former devotedness to Russia, could not persuade themselves that he would now give it up.

As soon as the accession to the treaty of partition was voted, several of the principal members of the diet repaired to the king, and reproached him sharply with the ruin of their country. The monarch at first answered them with gentleness. But soon perceiving that his moderation only served to embolden them and to provoke fresh insults, he rose up, threw his hat upon the floor, and said to them haughtily, “ Gentlemen, “ I am weary of hearkening to you. The “ partition of our unhappy country is a con-“ sequence of your ambition, of your dissensions, “ and your eternal disputes. It is to yourselves “ alone that you ought to attribute your misfor-“ tunes. As for me, if no more territory should “ be left me than could be covered by this hat, “ I should nevertheless be still, in the eyes of all “ Europe, your lawful, but unhappy king.”

By the dismemberment of Poland it lost nearly 5,000,000 of inhabitants. The country that fell to Russia, and which was the most extensive, contained 1,500,000. That which Austria had, 2,500,000, on a territory far less extensive.

Prussia

Prussia acquired only 860,000 souls*; but she was compensated by the commerce and the vicinity of the Vistula, and by the city of Dantzic, of which Frederic had already laid the plan of rendering himself master.

The three courts who thus appropriated to themselves the spoils of Poland, were not unmindful at the same time of putting it in a state of impossibility ever to regain what they had now been usurping from it. However dangerous the form of its government might have been, they were determined to render it still more corrupt. They caused full powers to be granted to the commissioners of the diet, to employ themselves, in concert with them or their ministers, in making the changes required by the constitution of the republic; and, under the specious pretext of

* Russia acquired 3440 square leagues, Austria 2700, and Prussia 900. The country usurped by Russia had for its limits the river Vella, from its source to the place where it falls into the Niemen, and the river Bercezina, as far as Rjesieka, where it empties itself into the Dniepr.—Austria took the whole of the left bank of the Vistula, from the salt mines as far as the mouth of the Virotz, the palatinate of Beltsch, Red-Russia, and the greater part of Volhynia.—Frederic took possession of Elbing and the whole of polish Prussia, excepting the cities of Dantzic and Thorne, which he took afterwards.

correcting its defects, they aggravated them so as to render them incurable.

After conferences prolonged by repeated delays, a new diet was assembled, in which the ministers of the three courts proposed their plan of reform. The diet was more tumultuous and more untractable than the preceding; and, in spite of the influence of the Russian minister, who caused his secretary to read the new project of the constitution, this project was at first rejected. It is too curious for us not to introduce here the bases of it, as well as the preamble of the captious memorial which the ministers of the three courts presented at the same time:

“ The courts are so strongly interested in the pacification of
“ Poland, that while the business is in hand of preparing the
“ treaties for being signed and ratified, their ministers think
“ that not an instant should be lost of that inestimable inter-
“ val, for restoring order and tranquillity to that kingdom.
“ We shall now therefore communicate to the commission, a
“ part of those fundamental laws, to the acceptance whereof
“ our courts will not permit any obstacle or delay.”

“ 1. The crown of Poland shall be elective ~~for ever~~, and
“ all order of succession shall remain prohibited. Any
“ person who shall attempt to infringe this law, shall be de-
“ clared an enemy of the country, and prosecuted as
“ such.

“ 2. Foreigners who aspire to the throne, occasioning
“ most frequently divisions and troubles, shall henceforward
“ be excluded, and a law shall be passed, that in future none
“ but

“ but a Pole by parentage, born a gentleman, shall be
“ capable of being elected king of Poland and grand duke
“ of Lithuania. The son or grandson of a king shall not be
“ eligible immediately after the death of his father, or of his
“ grandfather ; and he shall not be so till after the interval
“ of two reigns.

“ 3. The government of Poland shall be, and shall
“ continue for ever a free and independent government, and
“ of the republican form.

“ 4. The true principles of that government consisting in
“ an exact observance of the laws, and in the equilibrium of
“ the three orders, viz. the king, the senate, and the
“ nobility, a permanent council shall be established to which
“ shall be attributed the executive power. Into this council
“ shall be admitted persons of the rank of nobility, who have
“ been hitherto excluded from the administration of affairs,
“ in the interval of the diets,” &c.

By these laws the house of Saxony and other foreign princes, who might have preserved the integrity of the remnant of Poland, were excluded from the throne, the liberum veto, with the other dangerous privileges of the nobility, confirmed, and all the disorders perpetuated.

Stackelberg was still ambassador from Catharine at Warsaw*. More pliant than Repnin, he

* It is well known that of all the Poles, the king was him for whom Stackelberg had the least respect. Whenever he was in company with that prince, he used to place himself without ceremony before him, with his back to the fire, and holding up the skirts of his coat.—The king one day paid a visit

he was neither less haughty nor less addicted to intrigue. By dexterity and corruption he gained over the majority of the deputies, and the diet approved of the new form of government. It seemed proper now that this pernicious plan of government, established by Russia, Austria, and Prussia, should be maintained and upheld by those powers: but they delayed not to take advantage of its defects to bring it to total destruction.

It will be difficult for posterity to know which most to admire, the great power of Russia, or the magnificence of its empress, when they are informed, that in the course of so long, so expensive, and so widely extended a war, her expences, whether in rewards to her generals and officers, in presents to learned men, in the encouragement of arts, or in the purchase of libraries, statues, pictures, antiques, and jewels, infinitely exceed those of any late or present European prince except Lewis XIV. Among many instances of this nature which might be given, a diamond of

visit to Stackelberg. He was dealing the cards at the game of pharao, and without quitting his play, he sat still and shewed the king a chair, making a sign to him to sit down. Every person at Warsaw was plainly convinced that the Russian minister was the real king in that capital.

an

an enormous size which she purchased this year may be sufficient. This diamond, which weighs 779 carats, was brought some years before by a greek gentleman from Ispahan to Holland, and deposited for security in the bank, till he could meet with a purchaser: the greatness of the price would have made this difficult, if the empress of Russia had not existed. She paid upwards of 100,000l. sterling for it, besides settling a pension for life, of 4000 rubles, upon the gentleman, which amounts to little less than 1000l. sterling a year.

While Catharine was acquiring by negotiations a part of the provinces of Poland, her armies continued to ravage the frontiers of Turkey. Fortune however was not always favourable to her. Fourteen thousand Russians, in attempting to pass the Danube, were surprised * by Daghestan-Ali, pasha, and 600 of them remained prisoners with the Turks. Prince Repnin was of that number. He was conveyed to Constantinople, and shut up in the castle of seven towers.

Marshal Romantzoff crossed the Danube, and marched direct to Silistria. Fourscore thousand Turks were encamped on the adjacent heights.

* At Giurgevo.

General Veissmann attacked them: they shut themselves up in the town. Romantzoff marched up to it the following day. The grand vizir had already detached from his army 50,000 men for the purpose of relieving Silistria. Romantzoff effected his retreat during the night; but he was harassed by the Turks, who killed a great number of his people. Obliged to repass the Danube, that general went and encamped near Yablonitch, in Valachia.

The grand vizir occupied the left bank of the Danube. A detachment of his army defeated a considerable body of Russians at Roskana. These separate battles often turned out to the advantage of the Ottomans.

Discontented at perceiving that her armies had not lately been gaining new victories, Catharine sent dispatches to marshal Romantzoff, desiring to be informed why he did not give battle. The general returned for answer, that it was because the grand vizir had three times more people than he, and might easily find his advantage in such an event.—Catharine wrote immediately in reply, “The Romans
“ never asked after the number of their enemies,
“ but where they were, in order to fight
“ them.”

1774. Mustapha III. now died, and Abdul-Ahmet *, his brother, acceded to the throne of Constantinople. The latter years of the reign of Mustapha had been marked by sanguinary disasters. His successor attempted to restore

* Catharine herself has drawn the portrait of these two princes and their sisters in not very flattering colours.—
“ No foreign minister ever sees the sultan except in public audiences. Mustapha understands no language but the turkish ; and it is doubtful whether he can read and write.
“ This prince is of a ferocious and sanguinary disposition.
“ It is said that he is born with talents : that may be ; but
“ I will dispute with him on the score of prudence ; he has
“ shewn none during this war.—His brother is less imprudent
“ than him ; he is a bigot. He advised him against the
“ war ; and I cannot think that he will be sent any
“ where with a command.—But what perhaps will make
“ you laugh, is, that these two princes had a sister, who
“ was the terror of all the pashas. She was, before the
“ war, upwards of 60 years of age. She had been married
“ 15 times, and when she was without a husband, the
“ sultan, who was very fond of her, gave her the choice
“ of all the pashas of his empire. Now, when a pasha
“ marries a princess of the imperial family, he is obliged
“ to dismiss his whole harem. This sultana, besides her
“ age, was malicious, jealous, capricious, and intriguing.
“ Her interest with her brother was without bounds, and
“ frequently the pashas whom she married were without
“ heads ; which was a circumstance not at all entertaining
“ to them : but the fact is not the less true for that.”

the

the ottoman empire to its pristine splendor. He made immense preparations for opening the approaching campaign. The turkish armies were augmented by fresh levies, to the number of 400,000 fighting men.

Marshal Romantzoff also received great reinforcements. He resolved again to cross the Danube, and attack the Turks. The latter disputed his passage with signal valour: but their efforts were ineffectual. General Soltikoff* was the first who reached the opposite shore. Souvaroff and Kamenskoï followed close at his heels. The Turks were repulsed. Romantzoff was soon after encamped at the gates of Silistria.

Not many days after, the Turks attacked Soltikoff. They were 25,000 strong, and fought a long time with the greatest intrepidity: but they were at length obliged to submit to the superior skill and bravery of the Russians.

The same day Kamenskoï and Souvaroff gained an advantage over the reis effendi, who was at the head of 40,000 Turks, and took away with them his artillery.

All these disasters were greatly distressing to the Ottomans; as a spirit of insubordination and revolt is usually, with them, the consequence of

* Since become field-marshall.

a defeat. The troops of the army of the grand vizir were either engaged in bloody contests among themselves, or deserting by whole detachments. That general was encamped at Shumala, where he was at a great distance from the other bodies of the turkish army. Romantzoff, who remarked the disadvantage of that position, so opportunely surrounded the camp of the vizir, that he cut off his communication not only with the detached corps, but also with his magazines. The vizir, unable therefore to receive any succours, or to retire, or to stand a battle, determined to sue for peace.

The plenipotentiaries met accordingly at Kutshuk-Kainardshi, in Bulgaria. The Russians persisted in the demands they had made at the last congress. The Turks agreed to them ; and the preliminaries of the treaty were signed * by marshal Romantzoff, and the kiaya of the grand vizir †. By this treaty Russia obtained the free navigation of the Euxine, and in all the ottoman seas, together with the passage of the Dardanelles ; on condition, however, that she

* About the month of July.

† In order to avoid appearing again in the presence of his conqueror, the haughty Muffum-Oglou feigned a sickness.

should

should never have more than one armed vessel in the seas of Constantinople. Retaining Azoff, Taganrog, Kiertsh, and Kinburn, she restored the rest of her conquests. The independence of the Krimea* was one of the principal clauses of
the

* The peninsula of the Krimea, or Krim, antiently called the Taurica Chersonesus, is surrounded on all sides by the Euxine and the Palus Maeotis, except where it is joined to the continent of the lesser Tartary by a narrow isthmus, something less than five english miles in breadth. This isthmus has received its name from the antient city of Perekop, which is built at its entrance on the side of the peninsula, and has been celebrated for the strong lines made for its defence by the Turks, which extend quite across from the Euxine to the Palus Maeotis, and were the labour of 5000 men for a course of several years. The Tartars considered these lines as inexpugnable, until the famous count Munich convinced them of their error in the year 1736, when he forced them without much difficulty. This must however in a great measure be attributed to the badness of the defence, as the ditch was 72 feet broad, and 42 deep : the height from the bottom of the ditch to the crest of the parapet was 70 feet, and the parapet of a proportional thickness. The lines were also at that time, besides the fortifications of the city, strengthened with six towers mounted with cannon, and the whole was defended by an army. The peninsula lies between 33 and 37 degrees of eastern longitude, and between 44 and 46 degrees of northern latitude ; is naturally fertile, and was, at first, under the government of the Greeks, and afterwards in the hands of the Genoese

the treaty, and that which was most severely felt by the Turks. Certainly they were very far from perceiving the policy of Catharine in its full extent ; but they seemed to foresee that she was only desirous of obtaining the independence of the Krim, as thereby she might be the better enabled to bring it into subjection. Besides these concessions, Catharine obtained from the Porte, that tract of land lying on the Euxine between the Bog and the Dniepr, a large sum of

and other Italian nations ; a place of great trade, and filled with populous towns and cities. The Tartars of the Krim were a free people, governed by khans of their own election, acknowledging the grand sultan as khalif ; only in regard to religion, without any influence on the rest of the government. Europe therefore saw in the list of her states a new sovereign prince, Sahin Gueray, a mohammedan, and a descendant of the mongole conqueror Tschinghis khan. He resided at Bachtsheferay. Russia would now no longer be necessitated to defend its borders, by the usual expensive lines, against these Tartars, or even to continue the old tribute-like presents. On the contrary, she was now become a friendly and protecting neighbour, (just as she was towards Poland,) and in order the more effectually to do this, she altered the form of government, dissolved the relationship between the Krim and the Porte, and granted the Tartars the freedom of election, with several other privileges to the detriment of their khans.

money

money to defray the expences of the war, and the title of padishah, or empress, to be no longer refused to the russian monarch.

Catharine had thus the twofold advantage of increasing her power and of weakening her enemy. The commerce of the Euxine and the mart of the Levant opened to her a source of immense riches. The protection which she granted the Tartars, furnished her with the means of dividing them, and of conquering their country. The acquisition of the polish Ukraine put her in a capacity of more easily carrying on a war in the regions of the Danube, of overawing the ottoman empire, and of completing the ruin of Poland. The establishment of discipline among the kosaks added to her armies an excellent cavalry. The good understanding which she kept up in the islands of the Archipelago, and in Valachia and Moldavia, became a never-ceasing source of disquiet and annoyance to the Turks. In a word, the empress beheld her influence and her glory extending throughout Europe.

But while she was in the enjoyment of a condition so prosperous without, deep and cruel wounds were consuming the interior of her empire. Her finances were in a dilapidated state. She received no succours from England,

but by granting immense advantages to their commerce. The pestilence had made dreadful ravages at Mosco and in the adjacent countries. That horrible disease had long been devouring the Russian armies; and the fleet of the Archipelago was not exempted from its fury. The provinces of Kasan, Astrakhan, and Orenburg, were a prey to revolt, which even threatened Mosco; and a remarkable emigration* changed countries that were flourishing with commerce into waste and deserted tracts. All these calamities at once explain to us likewise how it happened that, during the war against the Turks, the Russian forces did not every year display equal activity, and were not attended with equal success.

But this emigration is of consequence sufficient to detain us a while. - The Asiatic territory of this enormous empire presents far other scenes than those which the inhabitants of Europe are accustomed to survey; and as Russia in a manner connects both quarters of the world in the completest contrast, so we behold it one while as a political exemplar of civilized human nature,

* This emigration took place towards the close of 1770 and the beginning of 1771. Yet the mention of it was deferred, in order that it might not interrupt the account of the progress of the war.

but

but at other times involved in situations which appear quite strange to us, and such as we only know from the history of the fourth and fifth centuries. Thus, in the year 1771, an emigration took place, by which a very considerable number of subjects were lost to the empire.— Of the Kalmuks or Oelœts*, brethren of like race with the Mongoles, several branches are in subjection to the Russian empire. Their original abode, if we may use such an expression in speaking of nomadic hordes, is the Kalmuckia: lying westward toward the proper Mongolia, and in the north and east of the lesser Bukharia. At the latter end of the last century, two tribes of them, the Torgot and Derbet, drew up in the steppe on the Volga above Astrakhan. Till very modern times, they remained however only as protected neighbours, and were tolerably independent on the government. But in 1757 the vice-khan Dondudidaschi, contrary to the established custom of all the khans to receive their appointment from the dalailama in Tibet, thought fit, though they are of the lama religion, to apply to Russia for the nomination of his son as his successor. At Petersburg the request was granted with great satisfaction, which perhaps

* Improperly, Eleuts.

would

would not have been the case on an application to Tibet: the father was constituted actual khan; and the son, only 13 years old, without hesitation declared successor, with an allowance of 500 rubles *per ann.* and installed with the usual solemnities. On the death of the father in 1761, Russia thought she had a right to meddle in the affairs of the young sovereign: instead of the accustomed council of eight saissans, it was made to consist of a larger number, whom the court easily retained by paying each of the members a salary of 100 rubles. The friendly protection was thus (as has happened in various other cases) changed into an actual sovereignty. In consequence of fresh regulations, the khan lost his former unlimited authority, and became nothing more than the president of his council; nor had he any longer the right to dismiss this council; he could only complain to the imperial college of Russia; and he was taught to esteem it advantage enough that the sovereign tribunal stood open to his appeal. In all other respects these Kalmuks retained their religion and their manners: they roamed about the steppe, had an aversion to permanent dwellings, and lived on the produce of their flocks and herds. These consisted in sheep, camels, and principally in horses; the whole nation was armed and mounted;

and

and their favourite drink, like that of all these tartar tribes, was a spirituous extract of mares milk, called in their language koumish. The pasture of these horses requires this roving life; as a father of a family may possess from 100 to 1000, and some of them even 4000 heads. Many of them were in good circumstances, and very respectable people; kind, generous, and hospitable: this last quality they possess in an eminent degree, and shew it to every one who peaceably enters their tents. But they are quite the reverse to such as attack them as foes, especially to nations whom they acknowledge not as brothers. Accordingly, Russia employed them in hosts in the prussian war; and Germany still recollects with horror the asiatic savages that were let loose upon her without regard to morals and the rights of humanity. In the turkish war they likewise fought for Russia in the district of the Kuban. Such was the situation of them till the year 1770.

In the mean time great heart-burnings had long subsisted among the most considerable of them on account of the innovations introduced by the Russians. The circumscription of their primitive liberty, the reducing their khan to a state of dependence, the intermeddling of a foreign nation in their constitution and laws, which

which begot dissensions and disobedience in the horde, the injuries (real or imaginary) which some princes had received from Russian officers : all this awakened an irresistible hankering after their former condition ; and as it was not to be hoped for where they were, no choice was left, but they must seek it in their ancient plains where their ancestors knew of no Europeans. Just at this time the governor of Astrakhan appointed a lieutenant named Kischenskoï, as inspector of these peaceful Kalmuks. Kischenskoï, a man of insatiable rapacity, by insensible degrees got possession of a great part of their cattle, and sold them to his own benefit. His exactions soon procured him an immense fortune. But his avarice, far from diminishing, seemed rather to increase with the means of its gratification.

One of their princes, a venerable old man, who had shed his blood in the service of Russia, in recompence for which the empress had given him her miniature portrait set round with brilliants, and which he wore suspended to his neck, was one day applied to by Kischenskoï for some presents in addition to those which he had already given him. The old man, irritated at his insolence, could not refrain from breaking out into reproaches on his injustice and the vexations he employed to the ruin of the unhappy Kalmuks.

Kischenskoï,

Kischenskoï, offended at the truth of these reproaches, had the temerity to strike him on the face, and having at the same time ordered one of the faissans, the minister of the khan, who interposed in his behalf, to be seized by his soldiers, ordered him the punishment of the battogues *.

The Kalmuks had, if not patiently, at least quietly, suffered the rapacity and peculations of the russian officer; but they could not endure the insult that had been put upon this venerable old man, who stood in great respect among them. The priests and the elders of the horde having held a consultation, resolved to abandon the territory of the russian empire, and retire to the foot of the mountains of Tibet, the country of their progenitors. The common people were easily persuaded; especially as they were told that the russian regulations were introduced for

* Battogues—a sort of punishment used in Russia for inferior offences. The sufferer is laid on his face upon the ground, stripped to his waist, and the arms and legs extended. Two men, one of whom sits on his neck, and the other on his legs, beat him alternately on the back with the battogues, which are rods of the thickness of the little finger. Persons having any authority over others may inflict this punishment upon them without any form of trial or legal process. Nobles and peasants are equally liable to it, when it is ordered by superiors.

no other purpose than to compel them to the three things which they most abhorred : christianity, agriculture, and the raising recruits. A little priestcraft was also had recourse to on this occasion. The noyons or princes set up a lama, whom they raised in a moment to be the immortal archpriest or dalailama, in the following manner : It was propagated abroad, that a famous kalmuk priest, who had died three years before, had now appeared again alive, and had issued a proclamation to the people, that he was risen from the dead at Tibet, in the residence of the great dalailama ; of all which a written testimony was brought from the immortal high priest ; in which it was declared, that being now become a being of a superior order, he foreknew the fates and fortunes of the nation, and required them, in the name of their gods, to return, and again take possession of their ancient territory. This happened towards the close of the year 1770, just when they thought it the proper moment for the grand rupture ; otherwise they would have suffered the lama to have slept quietly in his grave for a longer or a shorter time.

It was an unpardonable neglect in the commanding officer in those parts not to put a stop to the proceedings of the horde, so as to prevent the emigration, as their intention was publicly known

known in those parts. He even suffered himself to be duped by the Kalmuks, to whom, on their forging some pretext of apprehension from the Kirguises, their neighbours, he gave two pieces of cannon, with ammunition and some engineers. Accordingly, in the autumn, they began their march : a prodigious troop, with wives, children, and servants, having their droves, horses, flocks, goods, huts, and tents. The captain under the command of the khan was forced to migrate with them at the head of his kosaks. The march was conducted regularly enough, in three troops, who constantly kept in sight ; the flanks of each were particularly covered, and besides this they had a van and a rear guard. At the beginning they plundered the fisheries and the trading houses on the borders of the Volga and the Caspian. But, on their progress into the southern Siberia, they came upon the Kosaks of the Yaïk, who stopped and pursued the flying horde, cut thousands of them to pieces, and forced thousands to return. In the spring 1771, they were attacked by the Kirguises their inveterate enemies, and, after a bloody engagement, took many of them prisoners. In the summer they proceeded through the antient Mongolia to the chineſe borders ; where an army
of

of the Mandshu * received them, and afforded them protection.

The secret of their flight was so well kept, that it was not known to the Russians till two days after their departure. Three regiments were sent in pursuit of them to no purpose. The Kalmuks were more in haste than they ; and, besides, they were two days before them. These regiments wandered a long time in the desarts, and a considerable part of the soldiers perished.

When the news of the emigration was brought to St. Petersburg, a corps of troops were ordered by the court to go in quest of them. But, if the former pursuits were too late, it was not likely that these should come up with them : the lamentable particulars of this expedition may be read in captain Rytchkoff's journal ; where it may be seen what difficulties and hardships these indefatigable pursuers of the fugitive horde encountered, in their devious marches on this unavailing expedition, and what variety of distresses they suffered in the dreary, inhospitable regions and waterless desarts through which they passed. At length nothing farther was to be

* The present emperor of China.

done

done but to make application by a written memorial to China, to demand the restitution of the runaways. But the supreme tribunal at Pekin answered the rescript of the Russian senate abruptly, in a scornful and derisory manner, and concluded by saying, that “ their sovereign “ was not a prince so unjust as to deliver up his “ subjects to foreigners, nor so cruel a father as “ to drive away children who returned to the “ bosom of their family. That he had no inti-“ mation of the design of the Kalmuks till the “ moment of their arrival; and that then with-“ out delay he caused to be restored to them the “ habitations that had belonged to them from “ time immemorial. That, in short, the empress “ had no reason to complain of the Kalmuks, “ but certainly of the officer who had dared to “ lift his hand against a servant of the khans, “ and to order their ministers to undergo the “ battogues.” The letter was thus subscribed : “ In the 36th year, the 7th month, and the 13th “ day of the reign of Kien-Long.” On various occasions Catharine frequently received from these her neighbours answers in a style which must have struck her the more sensibly, as she was accustomed to hear from all the other monarchs in the world a very different language. On her applying for a fresh treaty for the renewal of the

commerce with China by the caravans, which for several years had been interrupted, on account of some differences that had arisen between the subjects of the two potentates, the answer given to her envoy was :—“ Let your mistress learn to “ keep old treaties ; and then it will be time “ enough to apply for new ones.” Accordingly we see, from her private communications * how sensible she was upon this subject ; and she could scarcely endure to hear any praise, even jestingly, bestowed on the emperor of China, who was otherwise known as an author and poet.

Concerning the number of persons lost to Russia by this emigration accounts do not agree. Some state it at 130,000 families ; which is certainly exaggerated. More accurate statements say, that the horde in general consisted of not much above 70,000 tents, or hearths, or families. Those who voluntarily returned, (for doubtless many of them, on the fatiguing and painful expedition over the desarts, panted after the more quiet abode on the Volga, and turned back,) and those who were brought in by the Kosaks, are reckoned together at 12,342 tents. Those that escaped therefore, estimating them at

* For example, in her correspondence with Voltaire.

the highest, were 60,000 hearths. But how great the number of the individuals that died upon the road, and of those who were carried into captivity by the Kirguises, can never be known.

A council of war was held to examine into the conduct of lieutenant-colonel Kischenskoï, and to pronounce upon it. But the business was conducted with negligence and every possible delay. Kischenskoï employed a part of the fruit of his rapine in procuring himself friends at court, or in corrupting his judges: and to the great scandal of the majority of the Russians, this man, who had occasioned the loss of such a number of subjects to the country, was compensated by the title of colonel.

Amidst the grand concerns by which it was occupied, the court of Petersburg betrayed no neglect of its little intrigues. Attentive as she was to the business of government, Catharine did not bid adieu to pleasures. She went frequently from the council to the ball-room and the theatre, and from the important sittings of the senate to the most frivolous amusements. She gave audience to the ambassadors of foreign powers, without having need of any other dress than that she wore for receiving her courtiers;

and she dictated a law with the same facility as she wrote a billet. Easy in her new attachments, she never spoke of those that had gone before. Panin, Chernicheff, and Baratinsky applauded their own operations.

But what gave them the most satisfaction was the removal of prince Orloff. For nearly five months he had been travelling in foreign parts; and his enemies, pleased themselves with the thought that he was to continue his travels for at least two years. The emissaries who watched his steps wrote them frequent accounts of his proceedings. He was thought to be in Holland: it was imagined that he intended to make the tour of England, France, and Italy. All at once he re-appeared at the court of Petersburg. The empress refused to admit him into her presence. She sent orders to him to repair to Reval. But she at the same time sent him considerable presents, and loaded with honours and caresses the more intimate friends of her discarded favourite.

What then could be the motive to such a singular conduct? Catharine had no longer any regard for Orloff. She no longer stood in awe of him. But she dreaded, she hated a faction she conceived might be forming under the auspices

auspices of a name* dear to the empire, and formidable to Orloff. She was desirous of opposing the party of her former favourite to this faction, and of procuring the support of a man by whom she had already been so well defended. Triumphant over her enemies, the admiration of Europe, idolized by her courtiers, that princess was nevertheless often a prey to the most pungent disquietudes : but she concealed them. She dreaded the thought of being hurled from the throne ; and she was forming the project of aggrandizing her dominions still farther. She was trembling for her life : and she discoursed with gaiety of the long career she was in hopes to run. One day she found a paper in her cabinet, in which mention was made of a threatened assassination : never did she shew herself more confident and more sedate.

Ambitious of all kinds of glory, she could at all times put any constraint on herself to obtain it. Whatever were her sentiments, she had always the appearance of gentleness, sincerity, clemency, and generosity. The blood of the wretched Ivan was yet reeking from the ground : Catharine was moved at the unhappy lot of his family ; and knowing that she had no longer any thing to fear from the duke, Catharine

* That of the grand duke.

offered him his liberty, with the means of retiring to Germany. The prince refused. "Why should I go," answered he, "out of the Russian empire, to publish the excesses of my miseries, and to excite a fruitless compassion *?"

Vassiltschikoff had now a long time filled the place of favourite. Never abusing his influence either for accumulating immense riches to himself, or for hurting his rivals, he excited no envy. The empress would frequently praise his moderation; and that quality, so uncommon in a courtier, seemed to render him more dear to her from day to day. But on a sudden he had lost the art of pleasing; and at the very instant when he had just been receiving additional tokens of her tenderness, an order was brought him to repair to Mosco. He obeyed. Fresh presents from the sovereign attended him on the road. But it was only a remuneration of form: the heart had no share in it whatever †.

* The account of the farther circumstances that attended this family may be seen by turning back to p. 40. of the present volume, where the part of the history concerning them was somewhat anticipated, for the sake of keeping the individuals of the family together in one view.

† Vassiltschikoff continued in favour 22 months. It will hereafter be mentioned to what the presents amounted which Catharine made to him, as well as to her other favourites.

Whether it was that Orloff had been secretly recalled from Reval, or whether he found his stay in that city insupportable, he now came back, and made his appearance at court. The empress threw no censures on his behaviour. She received him, on the contrary, with an appearance of joy. Proud of this reception and of the remembrance of his past favour, depending still on the submission of his creatures, who were in great numbers, he thought himself able to resume his honours and his influence. While he was in the full enjoyment of them, he often seemed to disdain them. No sooner was he deprived of them than he felt them to be necessary to him. Orloff, born in obscurity, and brought up in the licentiousness of the barracks, had found himself raised on a sudden to a point of elevation, which, by swelling his natural pride, had neither altered his taste, nor polished his manners. Eleven years passed about the person of the empress, in the refinements of luxury and voluptuousness, withheld him not from braving the inclemency of the seasons, nor from exposing himself to the severest fatigues, nor from the pursuit of the coarsest indulgences. Since his dismissal from the post of favourite, he remained in possession of an annual revenue of 250,000 rubles, and of valuables to the amount of

300,000; instead of maintaining a household with grandeur and magnificence, he led the life of an officer in garrison. In a condition to keep a table delicately served and supplied, he ate almost always with the commensals of the court, who kept very ordinary cheer. He was not more choice in his amours. It was indifferent to him, whether he breathed out his flame to an ugly and squalid Finn, to a savage Kalmuk, or to the handsomest woman of Petersburg.

Jealous of the authority enjoyed by his rivals, and contemplating with envy the throne on which he had long flattered himself with the expectation of sitting, Orloff demanded to be re-established in the exercise of his functions, and that he whom he accused of being the prime mover of his disgrace, count Panin, should be sent into exile. Orloff seemed at that moment to have regained his ascendant over the heart of Catharine. She appeared in his sight with all the fondness that the tenderest passion could inspire, and made not the least hesitation in restoring him to all his employments. Her majesty, however, refused to consent to the banishment of Panin; and the prince was obliged to be satisfied with obtaining her promise to remove him from court, as soon as the grand duke should be married.

Panin

Panin was deeply chagrined at seeing Orloff reinstated in his employments. But he had no one to blame for it but himself, since he had taken no measures to prevent it. Happy in the fortune and the consequence which he enjoyed, living in indolence in the midst of affairs, and seeking a retreat in the tumult of the court, it was only in sudden fits of resentment that he took any pains to injure his rivals ; and, though of greater ability than they, he had often the mortification to see them victorious.

“ Count Panin is a good creature,” said a courtier who had long studied his character. “ He is fond of nothing but ease and sullenness. “ Any one may be his friend by pretending to “ laugh at his bons mots, and by furnishing him “ with an opportunity for exercising his talent for “ slander. He himself, on such occasions, will “ laugh with all his heart ; and he forgets the “ affairs of government, the dispatches, the cou- “ riers, and the intrigues that are formed against “ him.”

Catharine had for some time been meditating a marriage for the grand duke ; but as that prince seemed to be of a weak habit, and a cold constitution, she feared lest he might be little disposed to give heirs to the empire. Her confidants soon found the means for dispelling her fears. They engaged a young polish lady, a maid

maid of honour to the empress*, to make an attempt with her charms on the heart of the prince. Mademoiselle Sophia consented; and she bore him a son, who received at the font the name of Simeon Velikoi †.

From that time the empress bent her thoughts to the choice of a fit consort for the grand duke. In this, however, she found herself somewhat embarrassed. She wished not for a princess who might probably become her rival, and who, profiting by her example, was capable of forming attempts on her throne and her life. She was rather in search of one who had neither the faculties nor the desire of rendering herself formidable. The empress at length fixed her views on the daughters of the landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt. These princesses were three sisters. Catharine invited their mother to accompany them to her court. How contrary soever to long-established custom as this proposal might

* This young lady was afterwards married to a noble count, who was living in France in 1788.

† Simeon Velikoi was of a gentle and modest disposition, and great care had been taken with his education. Entered, at an early period, in the navy, he served during the swedish war under that deserving english officer, captain Trevenen, in the capacity of lieutenant of a man of war, then being one of the 12 officers sent by the empress to learn the art of navigation in England: he acted as a volunteer in the english navy, and died in the West Indies in 1797.

appear,

appear, the landgravine of Hesse-Darmstadt accepted it without hesitation. That princess was ambitious ; and therefore she listened only to the hope of placing one of her daughters on the throne of Russia : she set out for Petersburg. The empress received her with magnificence, and loaded her with presents *. After having had time to form a judgment of the three young princesses, Catharine chose for the spouse of the grand duke the princess Wilhelmina, who embraced the greek orthodox system of faith †, and was joined in wedlock to the heir of the tzars.

Prince Orloff and his party were in hopes that this marriage would be presently followed by the disgrace of Panin. Orders were sent him to leave the apartments which he occupied in the palace in quality of governor of Paul Petrovitch. His friends took the alarm. The courtiers became shy of him. He imagined himself undone : but his pupil had the generosity to oppose himself to the storm ; and hastening to his mother, represented to her, that Panin had been always a faithful servant of the empire, and that it would be too cruel an act to dismiss him from the court, at the very moment when

* She even insisted that the landgrave should permit her to defray the whole expence of her journey thither.

† She took the name of Natalia Alexieva.

he had the greatest right to expect substantial rewards. This procedure wrought a change in the mind of the empress. Instead of retaining her resolution of sending an order to Panin to retire from the court, she wrote to him a letter full of testimonies of affection; and, thanking him for the care he had bestowed on the education of the grand duke, she confirmed him in the appointment of minister of foreign affairs.

Those who were unacquainted with the motives by which the empress had been swayed in determining to retain count Panin, found an inexplicable contradiction in her conduct. Orloff had the presumption to reproach her with it: but she did not vouchsafe to inform him better. Unwilling that this favourite should know that a mother had yielded to the solicitations of her son, she told him that it behoved him to sacrifice the satisfaction of removing a minister who failed of pleasing, to the necessity there was for his service. Always ingenious in disguising her sentiments, Catharine made no scruple of deceiving the favourite, who fancied he engrossed the whole of her confidence. Though she seemed to have restored him her former tenderness, yet she secretly cherished in her heart a passion which speedily broke out. She felt some inclination

clination to dismiss Orloff a second time: but she prudently kept terms with him still.

Of the learned and literary men with whom Catharine kept up a regular correspondence, Voltaire and Diderot were those whom she most distinguished. She invited them several times to come and visit her. The philosopher of Ferney had learned by experience the dangers of courts: he would not submit to the temptation of seeing that of Russia. The philosopher of Paris was more open to persuasion. He travelled to St. Petersburg. Catharine lavished on him largesses and encomiums. During the whole time of his stay at her court, she discoursed with him every day at the conclusion of dinner. Philosophy, legislation, politics, were commonly the subject of these conversations. Diderot unfolded his principles on the liberty and the rights of nations with his usual enthusiasm* and eloquence. The empress seemed to be delighted with them; but she was not at all the more disposed to put them in practice.

"Monsieur Diderot," said she, "is a hundred years old in many respects; but in others he is no more than ten."

* The empress made him sit beside her. In his moments of enthusiasm, Diderot has sometimes hit her knee with the back of his hand: she never seemed to take offence at it.

Perhaps her majesty's private opinion was not more in favour of the wisdom of Voltaire; though she never spoke of it but with all the deference that is due to the foremost dispenser of fame. The manner in which she was wont to write to him is well known. We have already cited several fragments of her letters; we shall, nevertheless, transcribe one of them here, as a further proof of the artful disguise she put on before that celebrated author, and how she strove to obtain those flatteries which he so lavishly bestowed upon her.

"..... * Now we are speaking of haughtiness, I have a mind to make my general confession to you on that head. I have had great successes during this war: that I am glad of it, you will very naturally conclude. I said, Russia will be well known by this war; it will be seen how indefatigable a nation it is; that she possesses men of eminent merit, and who have all the qualities that go to the forming of heroes; it will be seen that she is deficient in no resources; but that she can defend herself, and prosecute a war with vigour, whenever she is unjustly attacked.

* This letter is dated the 22d of July—the 2d of August 1771.

“ Brimful of these ideas, I have never once
“ thought of Catharine, who, at the age of
“ forty-two, can increase neither in body nor
“ mind, but, in the natural order of things,
“ ought to remain, and will remain, as she is.
“ Do her affairs go on well? She says, so
“ much the better! If they prospered less, she
“ would employ all her faculties to put them in
“ the best train possible.

“ This is my ambition, and I have none other;
“ what I tell you is the truth. I will go farther:
“ I will tell you that, for the sparing of human
“ blood, I sincerely wish for peace. But this
“ peace is still a long way off, though the Turks,
“ from different motives, are ardently desirous
“ of it. Those people know not how to go
“ about it.

“ I wish as much for the pacification of the
“ unreasonable contentions of Poland. I have
“ to do there with brainless heads, each of
“ which, instead of contributing to the common
“ peace, on the contrary throws impediments in
“ the way of it by caprice and levity. My
“ ambassador has published a declaration adapted
“ to open their eyes. But it is to be presumed,
“ that they will rather expose themselves to the
“ last extremity, than adopt without delay a wise
“ and consistent rule of conduct. The vortices
“ of

" of Descartes never existed any where but in
" Poland. There every head is a vortex, turn-
" ing continually round itself. It is stopped by
" chance alone, and never by reason or, judg-
" ment.

" I have not yet received either your ques-
" tions *, or your watches from Ferney. I
" have no doubt that the work of your artificers
" is perfect, since they work under your eyes.

" Do not scold your rustics for having sent me
" a surplus of watches : the expence of them
" will not ruin me. It would be very unfor-
" tunate for me, if I were so far reduced as not
" to have, for sudden emergencies, such small
" sums whenever I want them. Judge not, I
" beseech you, of our finances by those of the
" other ruined potentates of Europe. Though
" we have been engaged in a war for three
" years, we proceed in our buildings ; and every
" thing else goes on as in a time of profound
" peace. It is two years since any new impost
" has been levied †. The war at present has its

* The " Questions sur l'Encyclopedie."

† With all due deference for her imperial majesty, this does not exactly tally with the augmentation of the capitulation tax of 80 kopeeks, which she was obliged to abolish at the peace ; any more than with the extraordinary taxes laid on several manufactures, and on all works in iron.

“ fixed establishment; that once regulated,
“ it never disturbs the course of other affairs.
“ If we capture another Kaffa or two, the war is
“ paid for.

“ I shall be satisfied with myself whenever I
“ meet with your approbation, monsieur. I
“ likewise a few weeks ago read over again my
“ instructions for the code, because I then
“ thought peace to be nearer at hand than it is,
“ and I found that I was right in composing
“ them. I confess that this code, for which
“ a great quantity of materials are preparing,
“ and many others are now ready, will yet give
“ me a considerable deal of trouble before it is
“ brought to that degree of perfection at which
“ I wish to see it. But no matter: it must be
“ completed, though Taganrok has the sea to
“ the south and mountains to the north.

“ However, your designs upon that place
“ cannot be brought to effect till a peace shall
“ have secured its environs against all apprehen-
“ sion on the side of the land and the side of the
“ sea; for till the Krimea was taken, it was the
“ frontier place against the Tartars. Perhaps
“ in a little time the khan of the Krimea will be
“ brought to me in person. I learn this moment
“ that he did not cross the sea with the Turks,

“ but that he remained in the mountains with a
“ very small number of followers, nearly as was
“ the case with the pretender in Scotland after
“ the defeat at Culloden. If he comes to me,
“ we will strive to polish him this winter ; and,
“ to take my revenge of him, I will make him
“ dance, and he shall go to the french co-
“ medy.....

“ Just as I was about to fold up this letter, I
“ received yours of the 10th of July, in which
“ you inform me of the adventure that happened
“ to my “ Instruction”* in France. I knew
“ that anecdote, and even the appendix to it, in
“ consequence of the order of the duc de Cho-
“ feul. I own that I laughed on reading it in
“ the news-papers, and I found that I was
“ amply revenged.

“ The conflagration that happened at Peters-
“ burg has, according to the report of the police,
“ consumed in all 140 houses, among which
“ about 20 were brick buildings ; the rest were
“ only barracks constructed of wood. The
“ high wind wafted the flames and the burning
“ splinters on all sides, which occasioned the fire
“ to break out again the following day, and gave

* Her majesty’s instruction for a code of laws.

“ it

" it a supernatural appearance. But there is no
" doubt that the high wind and the excessive heat
" were the sole causes of this disaster, which
" will be soon repaired.

" With us buildings are raised with greater
" celerity than in any other country in Europe.
" In 1762 a fire happened of twice the extent,
" which consumed a large quarter of the town,
" consisting of wooden buildings. The whole
" was rebuilt in brick within less than three
" years."

The successes of the turkish war begot in the hearts of the nation an enthusiastic love and veneration for their sovereign; the sentiments of joy at the humiliation of the oriental pride were universal; and it must be confessed that many truly heroic achievements in these campaigns, both by sea and land, might well excite the russian patriots to jubilation. To perpetuate the memory of them Catharine caused medals to be struck, and columns to be erected.

In the mean time the buildings and embellishments of St. Petersburg proceeded without interruption; and works of really imperial magnificence were brought to effect, which render that city in many respects superior to any other. The Neva, the Fontanka, and the Katarina-

canal*, were embanked with granite ; and provided with spacious quays of the same material, and elegant balustrades of iron, so as to form agreeable walks through the several quarters of the town. Sumptuous bridges richly ornamented, of hewn granite, were likewise constructed in various parts across the Moika, the Fontanka, and the several canals that unite their streams. Palaces and public offices were erected ; among them a palace of prodigious magnitude, built entirely of marble of divers colours from Siberia†. If the eye of the stranger, dazzled with so much brilliance and splendour as this residence affords, sees with concern and almost with disgust, the intervals of wretched huts and dirty lanes ; yet the inhabitant recollecting with real satisfaction the former condition of most of the quarters and streets, feels the more sensibly the almost magical

* The beautiful stream that forms the Neva, branches off into the little Neva, the Nefka, the river Moika, the river Fontanka, into all which fall several canals, all together forming the large and little islands (*ostrofs*) on which Petersburg is built.

† The magnificence of this palace is such, that it never fails to remind the beholder who sees it for the first time, of what he has read in the “ Arabian Nights,” fairy and genii tales, and the like. The emperor Paul has assigned it for the residence of the king of Poland, by whom it is now inhabited.

improvements, and looks forward with complacency at what the whole must gradually become. Of the immense Ladoga-canal, the banks that were supported by timbers are, since 1763, faced with stone. The many beneficent and public-spirited institutions of the empress required new buildings, which were constantly erected with magnificence and taste. Nor were her cares confined to the residence alone, other cities likewise were growing in riches and splendour under her forming hand; Mosko, Tver, Toula, Kief, &c. In the neighbourhood of St. Petersburg arose and grew up in 1767, and is since in a flourishing state, the german colony Saratofka.

In the midst of the turkish war, Catharine purchased in Holland pictures to the amount of 60,000 rubles *; in France for 15,000 rubles, and in Italy a multitude of imitable curiosities. — That noble act of bounty which she shewed to Diderot in 1775, gained her the esteem of all literary men, in buying his library at a price far above its value, and then appointing him her librarian of it for his life, with a large annual stipend.

* The ship which had them on board was wrecked on the coast of Finland, and the whole collection was lost.

The expenditure on her court-establishment at this time was reckoned at 4,000,000 of rubles annually ; the numerous and always imperial presents to her officers, statesmen, and favourites, not included. Her court, the most brilliant in all Europe, was the resort of male and female beauty ; young persons of talents, grey-headed commanders, able politicians, respectable matrons, and a multitude of high nobility, who, by their friendliness, affability, hospitality, and polished manners, rendered their society extremely agreeable.—Prince Gregory Orloff was no niggard of his wealth. He caused to be built, at the distance of eight or ten miles from Tzarsko-selo, the magnificent palace of Gatchina ; which the empress, on his death, purchased at a very high price, and made it a present to her son the grand duke ; who, as is well known, always resided there, and was fond of the place*. About 1774, when Orloff was out of favour, some people imagined it was for having preferred his private interest to the good of the state : it certainly was not the case in that

* In 1780 the grand duke built a palace for himself at the distance of five versts from Tzarko-selo, which he named Pavlofsk, and furnished it with greater taste than magnificence. However he still retained his liking for Gatchina.

instance; but it is no less true, that she made it a constant rule to employ no minister of that description. She knew how and when to reward without being summoned to it; and never would suffer herself to be governed by personal regards. Even in Orloff's golden days, when he was in the highest favour, his influence in state affairs was far from decisive: Panin opposed him; and held his place in defiance of him. Other favourites were of still less significance. If afterwards Potemkin, for a continuance of 30 years, could do every thing with Catharine, and at last raised himself to an all-directing statesman; yet it cannot be denied that he had the head, and the courage and energy, which with the gradual unfolding of his talents as he advanced, fitted him for a prime minister: though withal, his ambition and love of command were of the rudest and most dangerous nature.—The princess Dashkoff was not of Orloff's party, but belonged rather to Panin's; after a long absence in a kind of solitude she appeared again at court in 1773, received from the empress a present of 60,000 rubles, with subsequent marks of her favour and the post of director of the academy of sciences. Count Panin united the most important places with the empress and the tzar-

evitch*; and nothing can be said more to his honour than that he gained the esteem and affection of them both. The whole public also ascribed to him perfect integrity united with a too great love of ease. He directed the foreign affairs, and his voice in the council was of very great weight. As preceptor of the grand duke he was beloved by that prince with a truly filial affection. Few princely families can shew an instance of greater tenderness of heart than one which we know of Paul Petrovitch: in count Panin's last illness the tears of the imperial youth incessantly flowed as he knelt by his bed-side, and gratefully kissed the hand of his dying master. After his death the sincerity of the prince's grief was manifest to the few who then had access to him.

An impartial observer who saw the empress in 1772 and 1773, describes her in the following manner: "She is of that stature which is necessarily requisite to perfect elegance of form in a lady. She has fine large blue eyes; her eyebrows and hair are of a brownish colour; her mouth is well-proportioned, the chin round, the nose rather

* Literally the tzar's son; the imperial successor. Formerly this was the only style of the heir apparent. So lately as the time of Peter the great, his son was always called tzarevitch.

long;

long; the forehead regular and open, her hands and arms round and white, her complexion not entirely clear, and her shape rather plump than meagre; her neck and bosom high, and she bears her head with peculiar grace and dignity. She lays on, as is universally the custom with the fair sex in Russia, a pretty strong rouge. She has adopted the usual habit of the Russian ladies as the model of her dress, which, by some slight alterations in it, she has so improved, that it is not only very becoming, but may very properly be deemed an elegant mode of attire. She never puts on rich cloaths except on solemn festivals; when her head and corset are entirely set with brilliants: in grand processions she wears a crown of diamonds and precious stones.—Her gait is majestic; in the whole of her form and manner there is something so dignified and noble, that if she were to be seen, without ornament or any outward marks of distinction, among a great number of ladies of rank, she would be immediately esteemed the chief. There is withal in the features of her face and in her looks an uncommon degree of authority and command. In her character there is more of liveliness than gravity. She is courteous, gentle, beneficent; outwardly devout,

" Her

“ Her ordinary method of life, in which she has almost always persevered, was at that time, this : About six o’clock in the morning the empress usually rises. Frequently, and even in the depth of winter, (nay, in the latter years of her life almost commonly,) earlier. She uses, without calling any one, to prepare her own breakfast ; as in general she is not fond of being much waited on, and accordingly dispenses with all attendance on her person as much as possible. The business of her toilet lasts not long ; during which she signs commissions, orders, and papers of various purport. On days when the council does not meet in her apartments, she is busied alone in the cabinet from eight till eleven of the forenoon ; she then usually goes to chapel, where the service continues till twelve. From this time till one, some of the ministers of the several departments have access to her. After the table is removed, to which she sits down at latest at about half after one, she goes to work again for an hour or two, according as business may require ; she then walks, rides on horseback, or goes out in a coach or sledge ; and at six her majesty appears at the play-house, where the performances are alternately in french and russian. If the empress takes her supper in public, (which happens ex-

tremely seldom,) it never continues later than half after ten; at other times she retires at ten.

" The only court-day in the whole week, holidays excepted, is Sunday. On this day in the morning, as the empress passes from chapel to her apartments, she gives the ambassadors and foreigners of rank who have been once presented, her hand to kiss; likewise such persons as have any petition to present or desire to return thanks for bounties received, are presented on this day to the empress, and kiss her hand, dropping on one knee.—The court begins not till six o'clock in the evening. At the same time a ball or concert is usually given: the empress never dances, but sits down immediately to cards, having previously told the chamberlain in waiting whom she will have of her party. In autumn 1772, it was commonly the austrian and prussian ministers, and of her own ministers count Razumoffsky, prince Gallitzin, and the two counts Chernicheff. The empress plays at picquet, or some other game at which she is not obliged to be constantly silent. A semi-circle is formed round her card-table, which the ladies begin on the left hand, and the privy-counsellors close on the right. When the empress has finished her game, she gets up and talks indiscriminately with the ladies, generals, and ministers

ministers that form the circle. At about ten o'clock, and often earlier, she breaks up her party, and then retires unobserved through a side-door. What has been here mentioned, relates only to the winter months, when the court is at St. Petersburg. While the empress is at Tzarskofelo there is no court held except on extraordinary festivals.

" Of civil processes, criminal and consistorial causes, the empress allows nothing to be referred to her in the hours of the forenoon allotted to confer with the minister. Yet no person can be condemned to death without previous information delivered to her: this punishment is almost always commuted or mitigated. But all matters relating to the army, the navy, the finances, to foreign affairs, the taxes, and public buildings, must be reported to her by the chiefs of the several departments.—Every one knows that the empress is made acquainted with whatever concerns the administration of government, and acts from herself in all state affairs.—As she never interferes in private matters and the family concerns of her household, she has always time enough for business of a public nature; especially as she regularly and uniformly apportions the hours of her day to the accurate interchange of writing, conversation, exercise, and company,

In

In constitution she is healthy and robust; her mind is tranquil, cheerful, and always disposed to business."

In order to introduce the practice of inoculation into the remoter parts of her empire, Catharine instituted hospitals for that purpose in various places, even to the extremities of Asia, where the practice is carried on with success, not only in cities and towns, but even among the nations of the steppes. In the northern regions the small-pox frequently made dreadful havoc: the peninsula of Kamtshatka alone, from December 1768 to December 1769, lost by this distemper 5638 persons. But relief was now extended also to Siberia: at Irkutzk, the government town on the lake Baikal, a small-pox hospital was instituted in 1772. The number of persons cured of that distemper in this same year amounted already to 510; in 1773 the patients that went out in perfect health were 1259; in 1774 the number was 897; and 1775 the persons cured were 711. On the other hand, in these four years, of the inoculated only 28 died from various accidents.

This Irkutzk (to give only one instance of the benefit of the institutions which Catharine carried on at the distance of near 6000 versts from her residence) is at present one
of

of the most considerable and largest towns in all Siberia. This may be easily known from the travels of the learned professor Pallas; since, as we have seen, the empress spared no expence in causing the country to be examined by expert surveyors and eminent naturalists. The survey of the empire, and the maps made upon it, and since published, would alone be sufficient to render the name of Catharine immortal. Roads were every where made in conformity with this survey; and, though they are not all provided with causeways, but are only levelled and made solid, yet they are all marked out by regularly numbered verft-posts. Irkutzk, by these, lies 2233 verfts from Pekin, 5093 verfts from Mosco, and 5873 from St. Petersburg. Mr. Pallas found there in 1772 already 1153 dwelling-houses, and the place in a flourishing condition; it contains a great number of inhabitants, mostly merchants. The streets are broad and strait. There is a german congregation, with a place of worship and its own pastor. In this town, in 1764 Catharine founded a navigation-school, principally in regard to the seas about Japan, and to the ocean between Asia and America. It is supplied with pilots from the admiralty as teachers of the art of navigation; and native Japanesees were appointed (who were still there

there in 1772) to instruct the scholars in the language of their country.

In 1769 the empress instituted the order of St. George, for military persons. A four-cornered golden star, with the initials of St. George in a black border, and round in Russian characters, "For merit and valour," is worn, with a riband of black and orange-coloured stripes. The knights are divided into four classes, and obtain the order on the achievement of some act of valour, or after having served 25 years as superior officers without reproach. A specific number of each class enjoy pensions, from 100 to 700 rubles.

C H A P. VIII.

Discontents in divers parts of the empire.—Causes that determine several impostors to assume the name of Peter III.—Rebellion of Pugat-sheff.—His successes.—His reverse of fortune.—His execution.—1774, 1775.

THE uniform prosperity of the empress seemed for a moment to have reached its term. A terrible storm was gathering in the remotest provinces

provinces of the empire ; the sky of its horizon darkened ; the black clouds came on ; the thunder growled ; the tempest threatened to overturn the throne of Catharine. Some parts of the conduct of that princess had excited great discontents in a considerable number of her subjects. Several of the antient nobility took offence at the caprices and arrogant airs of her favourites ; while the clergy burnt with the desire of revenge for the loss of their privileges, and the people murmured at the vexations without number to which they were exposed. The boors, in short, were almost become desperate at seeing their children successively ravished from their families for furnishing recruits to the armies which the sword of the Turks, and the horrible plague were incessantly mowing down on the banks of the Danube. The Kosaks of the Don gave the first signal of revolt. They had at their head a man, who, knowing their credulity, and seeing the spirit of discontent that was spread among them, quickly succeeded in causing several provinces to rise, and who, if he had been master of more art in taking advantage of his successes, would undoubtedly have given a different turn to the fate of Russia.

But it should first be explained what it was that determined this man to take upon him

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the bold part he played. The popes could not forgive Catharine for not restoring to them their possessions. They had recourse, therefore, to imposture, as one of the most sure and easy means of revenge ; having learned, from the ecclesiastical history of all ages and nations, how seldom it fails of success. They privately spread abroad the report that Peter III. was not dead ; and that he would soon make his appearance to reclaim his throne of the empress.

A false Peter III. had indeed presented himself in the province of Voronetch* ; but he was taken, declared to be an impostor, and punished with death.

Some years after †, a deserter from the regiment of Orloff, named Chernicheff, appeared in the village of Kopenka, on the frontiers of the Krimea, and also gave out that he was the emperor supposed to be dead. The popes procured him a great number of partizans ; and they were preparing to crown him in a church, when a colonel of the russian troops, who had been informed that Chernicheff was inciting the people to a revolt, came and seized on him, and instantly caused his head to be struck off.

* He was a shoemaker of Voronetch, and appeared in 1767.

† In 1770.

At the beginning of the naval war in the Archipelago, the Montenegrins made head against the Turks, refused to pay the usual tribute, and drove the collectors out of their district. To this they were incited by a foreigner, most probably an Illyrian, named Stefano Piccolo, who in the seven-years war had served among the austrian irregular troops, and afterwards could find no inclination to peace and tranquillity. Count Orloff, in 1769, took advantage of his situation in those parts, and sent to him prince Michael Dolgorouki; but he would not be persuaded to agree to the proposals of these commanders, felt himself rather uneasy too under the russian guard that had been set over him, and found means, by one artifice or another, to circulate the report that he was really the dethroned emperor, Peter III. The enthusiasm inspired by the russian name among the Greeks of those provinces, led them easily to believe that what he pretended was true. Some of their bishops seconded this enthusiasm with warmth; and this stratagem occasioned an insurrection among the people. But it was not long before the janissaries obliged the Illyrian to take to flight: more fortunate than the other false Peters, he escaped the scaffold.

A fourth impostor appeared afterwards in the government of Oufa. By birth a vassal on an estate belonging to the family of Vorontzoff, he fled among the kosaks, and followed a detachment which went, at the beginning of 1772, to join the Russian army. On coming up to one of the stations in the desert between the Don and the Volga, he assembled his comrades, and assured them that he was Peter III. This stupid and barbarous crew believed him, acknowledged him as emperor, and swore to die in his defence. This done, he proceeded to appoint his ministers, his generals, and prepared himself for wearing the crown with as much confidence as if he had been in possession of a kingdom and a powerful army. But his reign was not long. At the end of a few hours a Russian officer came, and caught hold of his new majesty by the hair of his head, caused him to be bound by his own subjects, and sent him to prison at Tzaritzin. There the soldiers and the inhabitants, excited by the monks, made an attempt to set free the impostor. But colonel Ziplehoff, commandant of the fortress, a part of the garrison having retained their fidelity, succeeded, by means of their fire-arms, in dispersing the seditious. The impostor was immediately condemned to the knoot, and perished under the scourge of the hangman.

A prisoner at Irkutzk attempted, in 1772, to follow the example of the four delinquents of whom we have just been speaking, and met with no better a fate. All these tragical farces were only the prelude to sanguinary scenes preparing by a more formidable villain.

Catharine now was doomed to see the third and greatest calamity that befel her during the whole of her reign; an open rebellion and its attendant, a civil war. This calamity also took its rise in Asia, and proceeded quite to Mosco. The author of it was Ikhelman* Pugatsheff, the son of a kosak, and born at Simoveïsk, a village on the borders of the Don. He served at first as a common soldier in the army which the empress Elizabeth sent, in 1756, against the king of Prussia. He afterwards made the campaign of 1769 against the Turks, and fought under general Panin at the siege of Bender. On the surrender of that town he applied for his dismission; which was refused him. Upon this he fled to Poland. Here some hermits of the greek confession, of whom he demanded the rights of hospitality, kept him concealed for some time.

* Some persons call him Yemelka, and others Yemelyan Pugatsheff; but he is named Ikhelman in the manifestos of the empress.

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With these hermits he frequently discoursed of his campaigns and his various adventures. One day he related to them, that while he was in the army of general Panin, a russsian officer said to him, after considering him for a long time, “ If the emperor Peter III, my master, was not dead; I should believe that I saw him once more in thee.” The hermits seemed not to pay much attention to this matter; but some time after, one of their comrades, whom Pugatsheff had not yet seen, exclaimed all at once, “ Is not that the emperor Peter III ?” The monks then made attempts to seduce him; and found no great trouble in succeeding. As soon as he was prepared for being employed as an instrument in their imposture, he went to the town of Dubranka, where he staid some days. Thence he proceeded to Little Russia, and sojourned among the sectaries, who are very numerous in those parts, and practise the greek religion as it was taught by the primitive church. Afraid of being detected as a deserter, he ran to the kosaks of the banks of the Yaïk, a river to which Catharine has since given the name of Oural *. Pugatsheff communicated to several

* It was to obliterate the memory of the revolt of these kosaks that the empress ordered the name of the river Yaïk to be changed into that of Oural, and the name of the mountains of Yaïk into that of the Ouralskoi mountains.

of these kosaks the design he had formed of putting himself at the head of a party, and engaged them to accompany him into the mountains of Caucasus, with the assurance that there they would find powerful succours. They were ignorant as yet that he had resolved to give himself out for Peter III. But, as it was known that he was disposing the people to sedition, he was seized at Malkoffska, and sent to take his trial at Kasan. The governor here neglected to prosecute him. Pugatsheff, while in prison, was frequently visited by the popes, who, it is not to be doubted, were in possession of his secret. They furnished him with money, which he employed in corrupting his guards, and made his escape. He immediately rejoined some of his old comrades, went down the Volga as far as the mouth of the Irghis, proceeded up that river, and penetrated into the desert. Here he saw his company increasing from day to day ; and when he thought he might safely reckon on a formidable party, he publicly declared that he was the emperor Peter III. delivered by a miracle from the hand of his assassins.

It was not at first known with certainty what could have moved him to this foul revolt, and induced him to act so dangerous a part. Some imagined it was at the instigation of the divan : and indeed the Turks could not have wished for a more

a more timely diversion, and which actually wrought very powerfully in their behalf in 1773. Others saw in this business the finger of the french ministry, which, on finding its hopes of the enervation of Russia by the disturbances in Poland and the war with Turkey frustrated, might have recurred to the artifice of raising up an intestine foe. However, of all this no trace was ever to be discovered. Pugatsheff had no foreigner about him, and at length stood in need of far better counsel than he could obtain from his own unformed though not very defective understanding. If any european cabinet was working at a distance upon him and through him, it was necessary that he should at least have begun his rebellion, ere the thought could have occurred to it of meddling in the matter. Perhaps therefore, as some surmised, the first movement was in himself. What was undeniably the cause that moved his tribe to join him was the religious discord that subsisted between that race and the domineering church. In Russia there is a sort of separatists, who in the former century sprung up on the introduction of some alterations in the ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies by the patriarch Nicon. The government encouraged his reformation; while many of the subjects regarded it with abhorrence,

as an innovation, and the patriarch himself as antichrist. For these people the party-name, Roskolniki, which is tantamount to heretics or schismatics, was invented ; but they call themselves Starovertzi, or Believers according to the old faith. They reject all that is done by the prevailing church as unholy ; because they think the succession of bishops interrupted by Nicon, and therefore refuse to acknowledge his adherents for true priests. They despise the public worship which is administered by the clergy appointed by government, never receive the communion of them, nor suffer their children to be baptized at their hands. On the other hand, they boast their bishops and priests to have received genuine consecration from the patriarch Joseph, which has been propagated in undisturbed succession. They live, however, so close and retired, that their discipline and principles are not thoroughly known ; as they have undergone some severe persecutions, especially in former times, and so lately as under Peter I. Catharine II. immediately on her accession to the government, abolished several regulations that tended much to the disadvantage of the Roskolnicks. In Russia proper there are but few of this sect of faith ; but all Siberia is full of them ; and all the kosaks of the Don and of

southern Asia are zealously attached to it. At first sight it may appear surprising, that a rude and half-savage people should take part in theological controversies with so much zeal. But we learn from the history of Poland, that the horrible wars of that kingdom with its protected relatives the kosaks, in the last century, had likewise religious coercion for their foundation: a design was formed to force them to throw off the original form of their primitive religion, and to become of what were called the United. The hordes of kosaks seem to be extremely bigoted to pure orthodoxy, and to hold all attempt at innovation in abhorrence. In fact, it is wonderful that governments should think of persecuting such simple honest beings for their notions on these and similar subjects.

Besides this animosity to the established church, and besides the natural inconsistency of this turbulent people, another circumstance occurred to the kosaks of the Yaïk. They had for several years before been engaged in violent differences with their attaman*, concerning
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* This word signifies a commander.—But it differs from hettman, which implies the chief of the kosak state collectively. This latter post, which confers great wealth as well

the bounds of their fisheries, and the court was obliged to send, in 1767, general Traubenberg and the captain of the guards Durnoff to quell them. But the kosaks were so dissatisfied with the decisions of these commissioners, that they murdered the general, and cruelly treated the captain. These crimes remained unpunished, because the government was too much employed in foreign concerns : a disadvantage that naturally attends a too great extent of empire, that foreign politics and war take off the attention and energy of government from the interior. The kosaks themselves, however, did not forget what they had done, and apprehended very dangerous consequences from it : they thought the crown was making preparations for revenge, and concluded that the best security on their side against it was a farther resistance by means of rebellion : besides, they fancied that the silence of the court was a mark of its weakness, and that they might therefore take these steps unheeded. In short, their minds in general were bent upon

as enormous power, the crown has often suffered to lie dormant. Elizabeth revived it for her favourite, Razumoffsky. Catharine abolished the dignity again in 1764, but afterwards conferred it on prince Potemkin,

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*violent measures, when Pugatsheff made his appearance among them, and renewed the transactions of the Don-kosak Stenka Razin, which were still fresh in the memory of some, who, in the preceding century, in the time of the reforming patriarch Nicon, had raised a formidable rebellion, first among the hordes of the Volga, and then among them of the Yaïk. The kosaks, in general, from the levity natural to a people not tied down to an entirely calm way of life, are not accustomed to act with consummate prudence, and have frequently caused alarm to the government; but on many occasions likewise their bravery and fidelity have been of eminent service to the russian empire.

Pugatsheff took the most effectual means of working on the temper of his nation by giving himself out for Peter III. who had escaped by flight from his persecutors, and in place of whom a soldier very like him had been substituted as a victim to their fury.

The kosaks on the borders of the Caspian, a credulous and ignorant race, and remote from all correspondence with any principal towns, received in 1773, with honest joy, the private intelligence of the condition of the man to whom they looked up for deliverance from the oppressions of the predominant church; and, strange

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as it may seem, this very circumstance made the simple story credible to them. In order to justify the dethronization of Peter, the people were at that time told, that he wanted to alter the dress and the rites of the clergy, to shake the established religion to its very foundations, and unlawfully to diminish the splendid revenues of the church. What idea could the kosaks entertain of that emperor, according to this account of him, but as of a genuine roskolnik*, who,

* These sectaries are called, by the greek christians, *roskolniki*; or heretics; but they designate themselves by the appellation *staroverski*, or people of the ancient faith.—To give an idea of the fanaticism and intrepidity of these wild christians, we will cite the example of one of their priests, named Toma, who lived during the reign of Peter the great.—Toma thought proper to preach at Mosco against the invocation of saints and some other dogmas of the dominant church. The clergy cited him to appear before them, and exhorted him to make a solemn abjuration of his erroneous tenets. Instead of hearkening to their admonitions, Toma armed himself with an axe, entered the church on the day of the feast of St. Alexius, and hewed to pieces not only the figure of the saint, but that of the virgin. This done, he got up into the pulpit, to explain the motives of his conduct; but the people would not give him time to speak. He was sentenced to hold his right hand, with the hatchet in it, over a fire, till it was entirely consumed, and then to be burnt alive. Toma heard his sentence read with the utmost composure of mind; nor did his courage forsake him,

who, for that very reason, was deprived of his crown? These roskolniks now began to look about them, and found it highly natural, that he would throw himself into their arms as his brethren in the faith. With hearty attachment, therefore, they joined themselves to him; having before them the ravishing prospect of retaliating on the predominant church all the calamities it had brought upon their fathers, if the emperor should re-ascend the throne that of right belonged to him, by their assistance, and that then the orthodox believers would completely triumph over the execrable innovators, the cruel corruptors of the orthodox faith.

About the middle of September 1773, Pugat-sheff's whole retinue consisted of nine persons: a few days afterwards he was at the head of 300 men. With these, on the 17th of September, he boldly presented himself before Yaitskoy, and

him at the time of execution. He sedately held his hand extended over the flame; and when he was laid upon the faggots, he continued to declaim against the abuses that had been introduced into religion.—Whenever the government has thought fit to oblige the roskolniks to embrace the russian faith, numbers of them have assembled by families in barns, and have suffered themselves to be burnt alive. This happened in 1722 in various parts of Russia.

summoned

summoned that town to surrender, notwithstanding there were in it 5000 kosaks and two field-regiments. To these troops he sent his manifesto, in which he declared to them, among other things, " that he was Peter III. who had " escaped from Ropscha at the instant when his " assassins were about to murder him ; that the " traitors who had dethroned him, and dreaded " his return, had falsely invented and propa- " gated the report of his death ; that he had " been obliged to put on the disguise of a kosak, " to bear arms for his persecutors, and after- " wards to conceal himself among the true and " faithful believers, to whom he had made him- " self known ; that having learnt at length that " the brave kosaks of the Yaïk were resolved " to free themselves from the yoke of the usurp-. " atrix, he was come to put himself into their " hands, and to offer to march with them to " victory and to vengeance." Immediately 500 of the kosaks came over to him, bringing with them 11 of their officers : the lieutenant-colonel, who was commander of the place, fearing lest all his people should desert him, drew back into the town. Pugatsheff followed him, and caused that officer to be hanged up ; and in this manner he ever afterwards acted with all the commanders of the places to which he came. It would be impossible

impossible to describe all the cruelties with which this barbarian treated the several persons of rank that fell into his power ; as well as to delineate his marches from place to place, his conquests of towns, and his battles, which shew that he was not wanting in courage, and frequently not in regular plans and stratagems of war : nor would the attempt be less fruitless, to recount, on the other side, all the mistakes and negligences committed by the russian commanders, and the baseness with which numbers of them submitted to him. General Karr was appointed by the court of Petersburg to go and restore tranquillity. Whether he thought that the bare news of his arrival would disperse the rebels, he travelled post from Mosco to Orenburg, which Pugatsheff kept close besieged ; and by his imprudence sacrificed the whole of a large detachment ; renewed the attack with what soldiers he had left, was beaten, and returned by post to Mosco with as much haste as he had left it.

Pugatsheff, attended by his kosaks, as well those who were his first partizans as the others who since attached themselves to him, attacked the colonies which the empress had newly established on the shores of the Irghis. He wanted their arms and their horses : these he carried off, but

but did them no farther harm ; for as yet he affected a moderation to which soon succeeded the most atrocious brutality. Having already under his command 14,000 soldiers, he presented himself again before the gates of Yaitsk. He sent to the governor an order, signed with the name of Peter III. to surrender to him the town. The governor refused to obey ; and Pugatsheff began the assault, but was courageously repulsed. Perceiving that it would be impossible to carry the place by force, he resolved to turn the siege into a blockade, and oblige it to surrender by famine. This proved alike ineffectual ; for the garrison, though reduced to the necessity of eating the flesh of their horses, and even to live upon boiled leather, obstinately continued to hold out, and repressed the inhabitants who wanted to open the gates to Pugatsheff. The patience and the zeal of this garrison were nobly rewarded. A considerable body of Russian forces came to its relief just in time to save it from the massacre, to which there is no doubt that it had been devoted by the rebels.

Pugatsheff was not long ere he compensated himself for this disappointment. He surprised the tribes Cœlœts, and took, sword in hand, the two fortresses by which they were protected. The fort of Tatischeva, which he afterwards attacked, made

made a stouter resistance : but, the fortifications being only of timber, he consigned it to the flames, and forced the garrison to seek their safety by flight.

The governor of Orenburg, informed of the progress of the rebels, marched against them a detachment under the orders of colonel Buloff. This officer was deficient both in prudence and fortitude : and, being surprised in the defiles of the mountains by the troops of Pugatsheff, he was inhumanly put to the sword. Those of his soldiers who refused to enlist among the rebels, remained prisoners. General Chernicheff, who, at the head of a second detachment, was to have joined colonel Buloff, suffered himself to be surprised as the latter had been, and met with no better a fate.

The army of Pugatsheff being now very strong by forced recruits and voluntary and more numerous accessions of Kosaks, that rebel went and laid siege to Orenburg. The governor of that town had already reduced himself by the several detachments he had sent against the rebels. The soldiers that remained to him were not in a condition for making any defence. Orenburg was on the point of being taken, when the garrison of Krasnogorsk ad-

vanced with succours, and valiantly cutting a passage through the besiegers, threw themselves into the place and saved it.

The noise of the rapid conquests of Pugatsheff gained him new adherents. Whole hordes came and ranked under his standards: the Baschkirs, a hunting people, who live upon the Russian territory, and wear its yoke with discontent, declared themselves for the rebels, and furnished them with numerous recruits. The Kirguises shortly after followed the Baschkirs; they were imitated by the Budyak Tartars, whom the empress had caused to be transported to the banks of the Volga, after the capture of Bender, and who could never forgive that princess for their transmigration. The revolt spread itself into the other colonies of those countries. The peasants employed in the copper mines and the foundries of the mountains of Oural, left their work and took up arms.

Pugatsheff vigorously pushed the siege of Orenburg. While the trenches were occupied by one part of his troops, the other went and brought off the copper money which is coined on the spot and laid up in stores. Here he also cast cannon and balls for the service of the operations against the town. He employed

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some of the winter months in this siege, during which time he delivered himself up to the excesses of debauchery and cruelty.

The rebels had by this time so numerous an army, that the regiments sent from Kafan, often narrowly escaped being forced, in defending the passage of the mountains which separate that city from Orenburg. During the winter a body of 10,000 Kalinuks, after having revolted in the environs of Stavropol, and slain the brigadier Véguézac* their commander, joined themselves to the troops of Pugatsheff. But what contributed perhaps to render his army still more formidable, was a great number of the Poles whom Catharine had sent into exile in the desarts of Siberia. Glorying in so many advantages, Pugatsheff ran over the mountains of the government of Orenburg, committing depredations wherever he came. The petty town of Oufa was the only one that made any resistance. He committed the siege of it to one of the chiefs of his army, and marched strait to Ekatarinenburg, where he knew that there was a deposit of nearly 1,000,000 of rubles in copper money newly coined. An accident saved the town. At the instant when Pugatsheff came up

* He was a french refugee.

to it, he received the false intelligence, that a Russian army, superior in force to his own, was advancing by a circuitous route. He believed the information: and having slackened his march in order to collect his forces, he left time to the regiments dispersed on the frontiers of Siberia, to come to the defence of Ekatarinenburg.

For some time after Pugatsheff had taken arms, observant of the lessons he had received from the hermits of Podolia, and the priests of the roskolniki, he put on the appearance of much moderation and piety. He wore an episcopal robe, gave the benediction to the people, assuring them that for himself he was destitute of all ambition, and that he had no other design than to place the grand duke his son on the throne, and then go and finish his days among the pious recluses, who had afforded him so convenient an asylum after his escape from his assassins. This artful conduct procured him soldiers. Other means obtained him victory; and then adding courage to activity, he let no opportunity escape him for spreading far and wide the terror of his arms. He dexterously took advantage of the knowledge of the country in which he conducted his warfare, and the imprudence or the weakness of the enemy. He never abandoned the pillage of a canton but in order

order to fly to a siege; and scarcely had he obliged a town to submit, before he was on the march to engage in a battle. But this man, who triumphed with such rapidity over all the severities of fortune, was incapable of supporting its favours. Success increased his arrogance; he thought it impossible to meet with obstacles which he must not easily surmount. He threw aside all constraint, gave scope to his sanguinary temper and to his brutal passions, suffered the enthusiasm of his partizans to cool, gave time to his adversaries to prepare to subdue him, and foolishly stopped in the midst of his career.

The spirit of rebellion had spread as far as Mosco. Marshal Romantzoff had not dared to weaken himself by sending succours to that capital, which was defended only by a garrison of 600 men. Pugatsheff had no more to do than to present himself before it, for making himself master of the place: he neglected to go. Thus losing by his own fault, not only the second city of the empire in point of consequence, but an army also of 100,000 vassals who expected him there, and only waited his arrival for running away from bondage.

Pugatsheff neglected even to profit by the advantages he had gained in the provinces which had submitted to his arms. He spent the greater

part of the winter in the useless sieges of Orenburg and Yaitsk. It was before Orenburg that he exterminated by the sabre all the officers and gentry of the country round; not sparing even their wives and their children: determined, as he said, to shed the very last drop of blood of the haughty and tyrannical nobility. But, by a strange inconsistency, at the same time that he was inhumanly butchering the nobles, he conferred on those of his partizans, of whom he thought himself most sure, the names of the principal families of the empire, and the ensigns of divers orders of knighthood.

He alienated a number of his countrymen by braving the religious prejudices in behalf of which he had at first performed the part of a zealot. Although he had been married for some years to Sophia the daughter of a Kosak, and had three children by this union, he had the effrontery at Yaitsk to marry a public woman, and celebrated his nuptials with all the bacchanal licentiousness that was worthy of the wife he had espoused.

Catharine, alarmed at the rebellion that menaced her throne, seriously set about checking its progress. She recalled general Bibikoff from the frontiers of Turkey, gave him the command of a considerable army, with orders to march against

against the rebels.' At the same time she caused to be published at St. Petersburg, and in all the principal towns of the empire, the manifesto which follows:

" By the grace of God, we Catharine II. empress and " autocratress of all the Russias, &c. make known to all our " faithful subjects, that we have learnt, with the utmost in- " dignation and extreme affliction, that a certain Kosak, a " deserter and fugitive from the Don, named Ikhelman Pu- " gatsheff, after having traversed Poland, has been collect- " ing for some time past, in the districts that border on the " river Irghis in the government of Orenburg, a troop of " vagabonds like himself; that he continues to commit in " those parts all kinds of excesses, by inhumanly depriving " the inhabitants of their possessions and even of their lives; " and that in order to draw over to his party, hitherto " composed of robbers, such persons as he meets, and espe- " cially the unhappy patriots, on whose credulity he im- " poses, he has had the insolence to arrogate to himself " the name of the late emperor Peter III. It would " be superfluous here to prove the absurdity of such an " imposture, which cannot even put on a shadow of pro- " bability in the eyes of sensible persons: for, thanks to the " divine goodness, those ages are passed in which the russian " empire was plunged in ignorance and barbarism; when " a Griska, an Outreper, with their adherents, and several " other traitors to their country, made use of impostures as " gross and detestable, to arm brother against brother, and " citizen against citizen.

" Since those æras, which it is grievous to recollect, all " true patriots have enjoyed the fruits of public tranquillity, " and shudder with horror at the very remembrance of " former troubles. In a word, there is not a man deserving

" of the russian name who does not hold in abomination the
" odious and insolent lie by which Pugatsheff fancies himself
" able to seduce and to deceive persons of a simple and cre-
" dulous disposition, by promising to free them from the
" bonds of submission and obedience to their sovereign, as if
" the creator of the universe had established human societies
" in such a manner as that they can subsist without an inter-
" mediate authority between the sovereign and the people.

" Nevertheless, as the insolence of this vile refuse of the
" human race is attended with consequences pernicious
" to the provinces adjacent to that district ; as the report of
" the flagrant enormities which he has committed may
" affright those persons who are accustomed to imagine the
" misfortunes of others as ready to fall upon them, and as
" we watch with indefatigable care over the tranquillity of
" our faithful subjects, we inform them by the present mani-
" festo, that we have taken, without delay, such measures as
" are the best adapted to stifle the sedition : and in order to
" annihilate totally the ambitious designs of Pugatsheff, and
" to exterminate a band of robbers, who have been audacious
" enough to attack the small military detachments dispersed
" about those countries, and to massacre the officers, who
" were taken prisoners, we have dispatched thither with a
" competent number of troops, general Alexander Bibikoff,
" general in chief of our armies, and major of our regiment
" of life-guards.

" Accordingly, we have no doubt of the happy success of
" these measures, and we cherish the hope that the public
" tranquillity will soon be restored, and that the profligates
" who are spreading devastation over a part of the govern-
" ment of Orenburg will shortly be dispersed. We are
" moreover persuaded that our faithful subjects will justly
" abhor the imposture of the rebel Pugatsheff, as desti-
" tute of all probability, and will repel the artifices of

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“the ill-disposed, who seek and find their advantage in the
“ seduction of the weak and credulous, and who cannot af-
“ suage their avidity but by ravaging their country, and by
“ shedding of innocent blood.”

“ We trust with equal confidence that every true son
“ of the country will unremittely fulfil his duty, of contri-
“ buting to the maintenance of good order and of the public
“ tranquillity, by preserving himself from the snares of seduc-
“ tion, and by duly discharging his obedience to his lawful
“ sovereign. All our faithful subjects therefore may dispel
“ their alarms and live in perfect security, since we employ
“ our utmost care, and make it our peculiar glory, to preserve
“ their property and to extend the general felicity.—
“ Given at St. Petersburg, Dec. 23, 1773. O. S.”

Three new ukases followed close upon that which announced the march of Bibikoff. In one the people were admonished to observe henceforth no laws but such as are signed by the empress's own hand: in the other all deserters, and especially the Kosaks of the Don and the Yaïk, to return to the standard of the empress, assuring them of an amnesty to be in force till the first of April in the ensuing year. Lastly, by the third a reward was set upon the head of Pugatsheff, promising a recompence of 100,000 rubles to whoever should put him to death*.

* It plainly appears that the empress was much alarmed at this revolt, and yet she had so much self-command as to make a jest of it in some of her letters. She even called the chief of the rebels, *le marquis Pugatsheff*.

Neither

Neither was Pugatshoff, on his side, sparing of manifestos; and on their publication he always took care to affix the name of Peter III. By one of these manifestos he affranchises all the boors. He also caused rubles to be struck, with his effigy and this inscription: "Peter III. emperor and autocrator of all the Russias." And on the reverse, "Redivivus et ultor."

In the mean time general Bibikoff was already at Kafan*. Having received advice that the rebels had made themselves masters of Samara, he detached a part of his army to go and retake that city. The siege was not of long continuance. The rebels abandoned the place with eight pieces of cannon and 200 prisoners.

The noblesse of Kafan were convoked; and general Bibikoff invited them to join him in opposing the rebellion. To this the noblesse were already disposed, as it was their own cause which they had to defend. Their example was followed by those of Sinbirsk, of Penza, and several other governments; and the regiments they formed without loss of time considerably augmented the forces of Bibikoff. Catharine then wrote to that general, "that not only she saw with gratitude the zeal which the nobles

* He arrived there the 25th of December 1773.

" had

" had so generously displayed, in offering to
" sacrifice every thing to the public welfare ;
" but that to give on that occasion a shining
" mark of her benevolence, she had resolved to
" become herself a member of the nobility
" of Kasan, and to be regarded as a denizen
" of that city."

Lieutenant-colonel Grineff gained a first advantage at Alexieff*. After an obstinate resistance, the rebels left him master of the field of battle and three pieces of cannon. A few days afterwards they fell upon him while on his march, but they were again discomfited. Some other lieutenants of Bibikoff obtained also considerable successes in engagements with several bodies of Tartars. Notwithstanding which, the rebels increased in numbers and insolence from day to day. They ran from all parts of eastern Russia, and ravaged an extent of country of upwards of 600 leagues.

General Bibikoff having advanced at the head of 35,000 men, forced Pugatsheff to raise the siege of Orenburg, where a famine was beginning to rage. The rebels retreated into the environs of Tatischeva. Bibikoff sent in pursuit of them major-general prince Gallitzin, with a consider-

* The 9th of January.

able body of troops. Prince Gallitzin attacked Pugatsheff, and fought him valiantly: but for this first time he obtained no decided advantage. On this occasion he could not help remarking, that the ferocious intrepidity of the rebels was directed by officers who had not acquired the whole of their skill in the deserts of Baschkiria, or under the tents of the Kalmuks *.

On his retreat from prince Gallitzin, Pugatsheff changed all at once the course of his march, and fell upon Bibikoff, who had only kept with him a weak part of his army. The conflict was bloody, and the Russian general lost his life.

Prince Gallitzin burnt with the desire to revenge the death of Bibikoff. He attacked the rebels again near Kargaula, 12 miles from Orenburg: in this action he killed a great number of them, and dispersed the rest. Pugatsheff that day fought six hours; but seeing himself abandoned on all sides; he took to flight, and escaped with difficulty to the mountains of Oural, where he was joined by his partizans with all possible speed. But presently appearing again with a considerable army, he made himself master of

* It is affirmed, that among them was a brother of the famous Pulaufsky, general of the confederation of Bar. Besides, some of their leaders, as Antizoff, Ussieff, and Nagai-Baka-Azanoff, were both brave and intelligent men.

several places to the east of the mountains, setting fire to such as made the least resistance. Here he was attacked by a body of Russians, who routed him afresh, and obliged him to take again to the inaccessible heights: where, perceiving that the only course he had to pursue was to attempt at retrieving his fortune by some signal advantage, all at once he descends from the summits of Oural, and marches with rapidity towards Kasan, leaving marks of his cruelty at every step of his way. No sooner had he appeared before Kasan, but he set the suburbs in one conflagration. Major-general Paul Potemkin*, governor of the province, might have kept the field against Pugatsheff, and have opposed himself to the combustion of Kasan: he chose rather to shut himself up in the fortress, where the rebels besieged him, and would inevitably have taken him, if colonel Mikelson, had not come up to his deliverance. Pugatsheff had not even dared to wait for Mikelson, but precipitately raised the siege, and fled: Mikelson, however, went after him, came up with him, harassed him for three days, and at last gave him a total defeat, after a long and bloody contest.

* He was a cousin of prince Potemkin.

Pugatsheff

Pugatsheff continued fighting in his defence till he had not above 300 Kosaks left. With this troop, whose bravery and fidelity supported the hope of the impostor, he put spurs to his horse, crossed the Volga, and gained the desert.

It might have been reasonably expected that this defeat would have intimidated all such as had formed the project of joining the rebels; and yet Pugatsheff saw daily arriving about him whole swarms of Kosaks, of Kalmuks, of Bashkirs, and boors, whom the very sound of liberty, and the hope of escaping their oppressive masters, had caused to abandon their labour, and fly to arms. Proud of the number of his troops, who seemed to multiply in proportion as they were destroyed by the Russian cannon, he resolved to proceed to the attack of Mosco. His partizans continued secretly to fan the flames of rebellion. The people waited for him as for a redeemer; but it was too late. At the instant that Pugatsheff was beginning his march, he learnt that the Russians had just concluded a peace with the Ottomans. Dreading now that he should have to contend with the greater part of the army of marshal Romantzoff, he thought of turning his arms to another quarter.

Intelligence being brought him that some Russian regiments were encamped on the shores of the Volga, he descended along that river, came upon those regiments by surprise, routed them entirely, and took by assault two or three little forts, of which Saratoff was one. The commander, who knew the catastrophe to which he was doomed, seized the moment when the conqueror was busied in pillage, and escaped with 50 men alone. The town of Dmitrefsk was basely surrendered by treachery to Pugatsheff, who had the barbarity to cause the governor to be impaled alive.

While he was at Dmitrefsk, he was told that the astronomer Lovitch, member of the imperial academy of sciences at St. Petersburg, was employed in the neighbourhood in taking levels for a canal projected between the Don and the Volga. He immediately commanded him to be brought before him; and when the learned and peaceful astronomer was in his presence, he ordered his men to lift him up upon their pikes, "in order," said he, "that he may be nearer the stars;" and then caused him to be cut in pieces by the Kosaks. But such atrocious acts cannot be of long duration; and the greater the excesses committed by Pugatsheff, the greater was the security of the empress.

That

That princess, freed from the cares so long occasioned her by the war with the Turks, gave orders to send fresh troops against the rebels, and gave the command of them to general Panin, who had gained great reputation by the taking of Bender. But from the moment that prince Orloff was reinstated in favour, his inveterate hatred to the minister extended itself to his brother also; and the empress consented, for some time, to let one of her best generals remain in a state of inaction. The want she had of him, or rather the reviving favour of his brother, induced her to employ him again. At length he set out on his march against Pugatsheff. The rebel forces were bearing hard upon the town of Tzaritzin, and doubtless intending for it a similar fate with that of Saratoff; but they were obliged to raise the siege with precipitation. Panin sent off a detachment to colonel Mikelson. With this reinforcement Mikelson cut off the convoys of Pugatsheff, starved his army, and attacked him at the very time when, encumbered with many carts loaded with baggage, and a multitude of women who accompanied it, it was engaged in the intricate passes of the mountains. Notwithstanding the disadvantage of their position, the rebels determined not to submit. Great numbers of them were killed on the spot; and

and many of the rest perished in the precipices, and among the steep and rugged rocks where they sought a refuge.

Pugatsheff kept the field of battle till he had absolutely no more means of defence. He now again swam over the Volga; then crossed the vast desert which extends through the adjacent district, and found himself at nearly the same place where he first raised the standard of rebellion. Several of his friends had rejoined him on his flight; but hunger, fatigue, and disappointment, determined great numbers to forsake him: notwithstanding which, he might long have caused disturbance to the empire, if treachery had not stepped in to the assistance of the Russian army.

Antizoff, the intimate confidant of Pugatsheff, and one of the chiefs who had the most authority with the Kosaks, had been taken prisoner; and his consequence was employed in reducing his nation to obedience. Gifts and promises were lavished upon him; and he was commissioned to assure his countrymen that the customary gratifications for the defence of the frontiers should be renewed. The expences occasioned by the war against the Turks had caused the payment of these gratifications to be suspended; and this was

one of the motives that gave birth to the insurrection of the Kosaks.

But, after all, to the indefatigable exertions of colonel Mikelson, Russia is peculiarly indebted for the quelling of this dangerous rebellion. From January 1774, he pursued the rebels without intermission, how numerous soever their swarms, how remote the expedition, and whatever fortune attended his enterprises. It almost exceeds belief with what toilsome perseverance Mikelson pursued his march over the desarts of trackless snow, without a guide, without succours, at times almost without food; how his company, always small, and often spent with fatigue, whenever they met with the great host of the rebels, always attacked and always beat them; only by the prudence and the bravery of the colonel, and the confidence he had acquired from his troops. To upwards of 7000 versts did the space amount, which this excellent soldier had travelled over within a few months, in the most inclement season, with his men.

Pugatsheff had at one time a prodigious concourse of people. Whole nations, the Bashkirs, many of the Votiaks, many Tartars, flocked to his banners. He conceived the grand idea of conquering the ancient and great capital of the kingdom.

dom of Kafan; and it succeeded. Only the detached fort which Potemkin had entered held out against his attacks. The archbishop of Kafan came submissively, with a bag of gold in his hand, to the conqueror, and only waited for the fort to surrender, that he might bring him a second bag, and solemnly crown the rebel. The impression this circumstance would have made on the people is not to be told. In the regions of Orenburg, Kafan, and Oufa, the generality of the inhabitants had declared for the impostor. When the restless Mikelson pressed him hard, when he was in want of provisions, or military operations compelled him to change his quarters; when, by battles lost, the number of his effective followers was diminished to 4000 men; he needed only to shew himself in new districts, and the subjects immediately rose up against their lords, murdered them, or drove them away, and declared themselves openly for Pugatshoff. At length he seemed to have formed the most dangerous of his plans: he was approaching fast to Europe, and had crossed the Volga. Whole regions went over to him. With the utmost consternation it was thought possible that he might push on to Mosco; for it is a well-known fact, that the extremely numerous populace of that capital were disposed to join him,

him; and longed for his arrival. If he had attempted this with hasty marches, nothing could have resisted him; and who can calculate the consequences, if Mosco had fallen into his hands? But here Pugatsheff shewed that, though endowed with talents and great presence of mind*, yet he was too much of the barbarian for the execution of any great plan as a statesman or commander: he neglected Mosco, though it is said that the general disposition there was not unknown to him; and lost his time in tempting over the Kosaks of the Don and the Tartars of the Kuban. Now his persecutor Mikelson came up, and cut him off from Mosco; the rest of the troops surrounded him, and shut up his wasted army in a desert 500 versts in length behind Tzaritzin. Hunger, thirst, and awakening conscience, opened the eyes of his followers. As he was prolonging his miserable life by gnawing the bones of a horse, some of the principal of

* At the Don his first wife had been found out, (for at the Yaik he married a second,) and been sent to Kasan, before that city was conquered, in order to convince the people of those parts of his real condition and origin. On his arrival there he happened quite unexpectedly to see her, and, knowing her, he said, without the least alteration of countenance, "Clothe that woman well. I knew her husband; he has been of great service to me on many occasions."

them

them ran up to him, saying, "Come, thou hast been long enough emperor." He fired a pistol, and shattered the arm of the foremost; the rest of the Kosaks bound him, ran away with their prisoner over the desert to their seat on the Yaik, and sent a messenger to the commandant of the place to inform him of what they had done. General Suvaroff, hearing of the event, put the rebel under a sufficient guard, and sent him to prison at Yaïtzkoï, from which place he brought him to Sinbirsk, where he delivered him over to general count Panin (who had formerly taken his dismission, but from real patriotism had requested to be permitted to have a share in this contest)*. Mikelson was pursuing the enemy in the deserts, when he received intelligence of the fate of the leaders of the insurgents. Upon

* It is possible that, according to one report that was circulated at the time, these Kosaks had been bought over, though nothing appeared in confirmation of it. It was said that, while Antizoff was negotiating his accommodation, three other Kosaks, who had likewise been bribed, undertook to deliver up Pugatsheff; that, accordingly, they went to him, and advised him, as no means were now left him of safety, to make a voluntary surrender; that, incensed at this baseness as he called it, he wanted to punish one of them on the spot; and that then the three fell upon him at once, bound him, &c. The fact, as related in the text, came out on the trial.

this he conducted his troops to Saratoff, to rest after the fatigues they had undergone, but proceeded himself to Sinbirsk, where Panin gave him a noble and friendly reception, and whence Catharine recalled him, in order to recompense him according to his desert.—Thus terminated the rebellion, in which 100,000 men were slain.

General Panin caused the traitor Pugatsheff to be conveyed in an iron cage to Mosco*, together with several of his principal accomplices.

When the empress was informed that Pugatsheff was in the prison of Mosco, she appointed a commission, who united with the senate, for the trial of the rebel: taking care, at the same time, to recommend to them to be satisfied with the confession of his crime, without applying the torture, and without requiring him to name his accomplices. Her majesty was doubtless apprehensive lest the declarations of the culprit might oblige her to multiply punishments, and plunge the empire into new calamities.

The sentence passed on Pugatsheff was, that he should have his two hands and both his feet cut off; that they should be shewn to the people; and that afterwards he should be quar-

* Pugatsheff arrived at Mosco in the month of September 1774, and was executed the 21st of January following.

tered alive. But this butchering sentence was not fulfilled. By some persons it is said that a secret order from the empress mitigated it. Others pretend that the executioner was less inhuman * than the judges ; and others again affirm, that it was by a mere mistake of the man. However it be, Pugatsheff was first decapitated ; after which his body was cut into quarters, which were exposed in as many parts of the town. Five of his principal accomplices were likewise beheaded ; three others were hanged ; and eighteen more underwent the knoot, and were sent to Siberia. Pugatsheff met his fate with the most undaunted resolution, but was induced to acknowledge the justice of his sentence, the deception he had used, with his true name and condition. It is said, that an observation made several years ago by the celebrated count Totleben of the striking resemblance which he bore to the late emperor Peter III, took such possession of his mind, as to have been the operating cause of that calamity and ruin in which he involved, with himself, a great part of the empire, which cost it the destruction of a great number of towns, and of

* What seems to confirm this opinion is, that, after the execution of Pugatsheff, the wretched hangman had his tongue cut out, and was sent into Siberia.

upwards of 250 villages, the interruption of the works at the mines of Orenburg, and the whole trade of Siberia. The Bashkirs, who in 1770 amounted to 27,000 families, lost, during the rebellion, great numbers of people, and, after it was finally quelled, many of their privileges and immunities. The Mestsheræks, a tartar nation, who lived amongst them, formerly paid them a land-tax; this, as a punishment on the former, was now abolished; for the Mestsheræks had remained true to the crown: they were immediately declared free people, on the footing of the Kosaks, and received several of the villages of the slaughtered Bashkirs, reckoned at 1849 farms.—Lastly, in order to make an awful impression on the nations around by a lasting and sensible token of displeasure, the empress, by a ukause, abolished the name of Yaïk for ever. That river, which takes its rise from the eastern side of the mounts Oural, and gave name to the Kosaks that dwell on its borders, is at present, throughout the russian empire, called the Oural; and the town Yaïtzkoï, where Pugatsheff began and finished his rebellion, bears now the name of Ouralsk.

On recalling to our memory at once the momentous occurrences that followed one another so rapidly in such a short series of years,
we

we are lost in admiration of that mind which could calmly and sedately survey their tumultuous succession, and could, in perfect composure, provide the fittest means for assuaging their violence and correcting their influence, while it shewed itself firm and great in all other transactions of a public nature, both foreign and domestic; so as to gain the reverence of friends, and extort the respect of foes. But this is not all: ever interested in promoting the glory and elevation of the country which had fallen under her guidance, Catharine at the same time was promoting its internal welfare, by encouraging the sciences and the arts of peace; and wherever she appeared, ease and cheerfulness were in her train; and her conversations and letters were always seasoned with pleasantry and temperate mirth.

Shortly after the punishment of Pugatsheff, the empress had a fresh opportunity for displaying her clemency, by granting a pardon to men who, though not guilty of crimes of so heinous a nature as those of that traitor, yet were justly deserving of capital punishment. They were the treasurers of the empire, who had embezzled the public money. Catharine would not even allow them to be brought to trial. She had overcome what was naturally irascible and violent

violent in her temper, and had learnt patience and lenity from the lessons of philosophy. She has also been heard to say, "What I cannot overthrow, I undermine and root up." The heavy burden incurred by her foreign and domestic wars did not prevent the empress from taking off most of the taxes which were laid for their support; and, as if the strength and riches of government in her country increased with its expence, she also abolished a number of the ancient taxes, which were either considered as discouraging to agriculture, or burdensome and oppressive to particular provinces or orders of the people. In the same spirit of beneficence and good policy, she lent great sums of money, interest free, and for a specified term of years, to those provinces which were ruined by the late rebellion; and, to crown a general pardon, she strictly forbade any particulars of that unfortunate affair to be called up, or any reproaches used on its account, but condemned all matters relative to it to perpetual silence and oblivion.

She also established a number of other regulations, all tending to the security, advantage, and happiness of her subjects, to abolish pernicious distinctions, destroy ruinous monopolies, restrain the cruelty of punishment, remove oppressive or impolitic restrictions or prohibitions,

bitions, and to restore mankind to a more equitable degree of equality, in those different ranks which they fill in society. A pardon was also granted to those criminals who had already undergone a long degree of suffering for their crimes ; and an ordinance issued to prevent any future criminal prosecution from being admitted, unless commenced within ten years after the date of the charge. Equal humanity was shewn with respect to imprisoned debtors, who, under certain limitations, and in certain circumstances, were released from confinement. All the heirs of the debtors to the crown were discharged from their bonds and obligations,

Thus Russia enjoyed her power, influence, and glory, with a noble and splendid magnificence. All her affairs were conducted upon a great and extensive system ; and all her acts were in a grand style. She sat supreme between Europe and Asia, and looked like the dictator of both. In her was seen a great but still growing empire, which not having reached the summit of her destined power, felt life and vigour glowing in every part. The successes and consequences of the war enlarged the spirit, extended the views, and dignified the minds of the people. In such a state every thing is bold and masculine. Even vices and crimes are great.

If Catharine was able to do so much for the benefit of her country during such turbulent times, what might not be expected of her in a period of peace?—She would, however, have performed much more, if even this period had been so calm as at first sight it would appear. But it was not. If no war employed the empress to the detriment of her internal administration of government, yet foreign affairs attracted too much of her attention. There was no great transaction in which she would not interfere; and in order to interfere with so much impression, with so significant an influence, as she did, a great force must be kept up, and a ready participation constantly visible in all the occurrences of Europe. She might have looked on with indifference when ambitious princes jostled each other, or feeble governments were hastening to their fall; but the former contended for her countenance, and the latter awakened in her the idea of still adding to the territory of her prodigious empire. Alliances, guarantees, leagues, preparations, measures for attracting more respect, decisive arbitrations, plans for future enterprises; in short, every thing which the lust of dominion can suggest, and in which policy can be employed, was the object of Catharine's mighty mind; which, secure from every power

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on the earth, could act in any voluntary direction. And even envy itself must confess, that she performed her part in the grand drama of the world with a dignity never seen before :— here a kingdom was to be treated as a province of her dominions ; there, an independent state to be annihilated by a manifesto : here bounds were to be set to the arrogance of a foreign potentate ; there, a gigantic project to be conducted and advanced. All must allow, that she was never forgetful of the interests of her empire : new life and improved organization sprung up beneath her forming hand. But that outward activity disturbed the fixed and steady view of the interior, and kindled at length a war, which though she again triumphantly concluded, yet unnecessarily emptied her exchequer, and wasted her army. Among her neighbours arose jealousy and the desire to hurt, which acquired the legitimate appearance of self-defence. Thus were brought together from all sides the embers of a dangerous combustion, while smiling fortune seemed preparing for the empire the blessings of peace.—Had Catharine shewn a generous scorn for foreign fame, and never engaged in a war ; or perhaps more properly, had never self-interest in the mask of flattery encompassed her throne ; in all probability history would have had but

one voice in extolling her as the model for sovereigns.

A politician of great sagacity *, in speaking of the commerce and wealth of Russia, said, many years ago, “ Nothing can be more prejudicial to this increase of wealth than foreign wars; by which perhaps more hard money goes out of the country than its mines and its commerce produce: If, on the contrary, this yearly national profit were employed on the inner cultivation of the country, far greater benefit would accrue; even for foreign commerce, than could be obtained by the most brilliant conquests: Russia should avoid all wars; and as from her situation as well as by her power, she is safe from all attacks from without, she may easily avoid them. Russia should, as little as possible, take any concern in the foreign transactions and commerce of the monarchs of Europe, and direct the whole of its attention to the increase and extension of its internal improvement. And though in that case it is probable that not so much would be read in the foreign gazettes and political publications about the Russian empire as at present; yet, in return, the Russian subjects would

* M. von Struensee, in his “ Account of the Commerce of the States of Europe,” 1778, part i. p. 505.

" obtain a higher degree of prosperity and
" happiness."

But what did not Alexander do, that the idlers in Athens might have something to say of him? In nearly the same manner Catharine seemed afraid that Europe might forget her, nay, that the name of her empire would be expunged from the catalogue of its states. She even thought it necessary, in the first paragraph of the first chapter of her so frequently mentioned " Instruction," to make the declaration, " Russia is " an european power." Our quarter of the world had afterwards frequently occasion enough to remember that she was a party concerned in it.

Germany had particular reason to know it. Peter III. as duke of Holstein, was a prince of the empire. The Gottorp division bordered on the german territories of the king of Denmark: a renewal of the ancient feuds between these two kindred houses threatened to break out; and no plan for an accommodation for the future could ever be brought properly to succeed. Catharine at length removed the difficulty, and for her very trifling relationship in a truly exalted manner. It likewise appeared to her, perhaps, unsuitable, that her son, now arrived at his majority, as heir to the imperial crown of Russia, should be at the same

same time an actually reigning prince in Germany*. In 1773, she proposed, in her son's name, an exchange with the house of Denmark, to which it readily agreed, whereby it was to receive the ducal portion† in return for the county of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst in the circle of Westphalia. These latter, therefore, fell to the grand duke; who directly ceded them, without compensation, to the younger son of the Gottorp line, Frederic Augustus, bishop of Lubek, by whose imbecil son, Peter Frederic William, they are now inherited. The two counties‡ are estimated at 45 square geographical miles, containing 85,000 inhabitants, and yielding an annual revenue of 230,000 rixdollars. So disinterestedly did Catharine barter, so magnanimously did she make presents. The elder branch of the house of Holstein-Gottorp therefore had no longer a seat among the princes of the german empire; but Catharine kept an ambassador at the diet of Ratisbon, whose vote was certainly not without consequence. The empress in 1779 ratified the peace of Teschen

* See the genealogical tables, in the foregoing volume, tab. ii. p. 107.

† Comprising the city of Kiel, &c.

‡ Converted into a dukedom by the emperor of Germany and the states of the empire in 1776.

concluded

concluded between Prussia and Austria under her guarantee ; and more lately insisted on being regarded as guarantee of the peace of Westphalia ; and spoke in a very high tone in the last diet against France.

Nor was the empress less attentive, at this time, to the public internal security of the residence, and other parts of the empire. Of all political institutions and establishments, nothing has a nearer relation to the comfort and satisfaction of each individual, than the police. The respectable aim of this part of the administration of government, security and conveniency, are associated in the grand idea of civil happiness, without which no political happiness is to be conceived. The relations with foreign powers, the riches of the state, nay, even political liberty, are far more remotely related to the happiness of the individual, as they rather concern the whole body of the nation ; while the functions of the police relate exactly to those duties which affect a man in his more delicate and tender connections, as a citizen, as a man of business, husband, and father. There are countries in which the citizen, notwithstanding the great weakness and insignificancy of the body politic to which he belongs, or amid the most striking infringements of political liberty, is

happy, because his civil security and liberty are guarded ; as there are governments in which the greatest national force and the completest political organization cannot compensate the individual citizen for the defect or the loss of a well-regulated police.

Civil security must presuppose civil liberty : otherwise it would produce tranquillity indeed ; but it would be like the tranquillity of the grave, the consequences of which are foulness and corruption. The former is the result of combined and artfully-connected aims ; whereas the latter is the effect of one simple maxim. In a word, security is forced from the executive power, liberty may be granted.

The state of civil security in every government is an explained problem ; the laws, and the means of obtaining it, are objects of public notoriety. The state of civil liberty can, in such countries as have not a peculiar constitution, only be known from the combination of a great many particular facts, from the spirit of the government, from the temper of the people.

In a country which has not the least shadow of a constitution, in which all the complicate relations of a great civil society are ascertained by particular, explicable, frequently contradictory ordinances, and these left to the arbitrary

trary interpretation of particular courts ; in such a country, personal and civil security can neither be enjoyed as a matter lawfully or assuredly established. In this situation was Russia, previous to the reign of Peter the great. The variety of the ordinances of this monarch, far superior to his contemporaries, shew that he was sensible of the want of a civil constitution, and the necessity of a personal security, settled and fixed by law. Much however as he did towards the attainment of this grand object, much still remained for him to do. "A premature death obliged him to abandon this salutary institute, while yet in its commencement. The frequent revolutions which succeeded, the diversity of principles and opinions, the numerous wars that happened, though they by no means weakened the power and authority of the empire, yet subjected the regulations of this great emperor either to alterations, or to a difference in the prosecution of the idea of the work he had begun, or to the introduction of other rules, which partly took their direction by particular notions of the matter, partly by the alteration of circumstances and the natural course of things*."

* The words of Catharine II. See the ukause of the 12th of November 1775, which serves as an introduction to the regulation of the administration of government.

At length the genius of Russia threw the fate of this great empire into the hands of Catherine II. The comprehensive mind of this monarch, which had already been occupied in the extension and establishment of its external force, in laying the foundations of a philosophical system of legislation, in the improvement of education, in the diffusion of illumination and taste, and in the reformation of numberless abuses, and which had not yet exhausted its energy on these grand objects, now formed a constitution for Russia*.

The collection of ordinances out of which this constitution arose, breathe throughout that liberal philosophical spirit, that reverence for mankind and their rights, and that mild, benign temper, equally removed from severity and compliance, which mark the character of the lawgiver, and is its most venerable sanction.

* The successive constitutions by which Russia obtained an equal and regular distribution into vice-royalties, a like civil form, like courts and tribunals, a police, a municipality, specific rights and relations of the middle rank and the nobility; in a word, a constitution, are the following:—Ordinances for the administration of government throughout the Russian empire.—Imperial regulation for the mercantile navigation on rivers, lakes, and seas.—Of nobility.—Municipality.—Regulations of police. They are translated collectively into German by the court-counsellor Arndt.

The preservation and advancement of personal security cannot be the last object in a law-book of this nature. It provides a peculiar tribunal in the court of conscience or the court of equity, which is established in every government of the empire, and which has for its aim, according to the proper words of the ordinance, the preservation of personal security, the mitigation of the lot of unhappy criminals, and the equitable termination of all civil disputes. The constitution of this highly remarkable institute is too novel, too beneficial, and too little known, to render the omission of a brief account of it pardonable in the present undertaking.

The court of conscience consists of a judge, who presides, and of six members, of whom, every three years, two are elected from the class of burghers, and an equal number from the class of boors. Each rank has only to do with the accuser and the accused of his rank. The court of conscience pronounces, in general, according to the laws; but, as it is ordained to be a guard to particular or personal security, the rule prescribed in all cases is — general philanthropy, respect for man as such, and aversion from all oppression and injury of mankind. For these reasons the court of conscience must never add to the burthens of any man, but rather make

it a duty conscientiously to discuss, and to decide with humanity, the cause before it. It must never meddle, of its own motion, in any matter, but take it up only from an order of the government, from the communication of another court of justice, or from petition and complaint. The cases of such criminals as, by some unhappy accident, or by the concurrence of various circumstances, have fallen into guilt, whose sufferings far outweigh their demerit, the crimes of thoughtlessness or early age, and all stories of witchcraft and conjuration, arising from stupidity, imposture, and ignorance, belong to this tribunal. The duty of it, in civil causes, is to adjust the differences of contending parties who appeal to it for that purpose. The adjustment is to be made either by the court alone, or in conjunction with arbitrators, chosen by the two parties. If the arbitrators cannot agree together, then the court lays before them its opinion how the accuser and the accused may be reconciled, without injury, without process, controversy, reciprocal reproach, and chicanery. If the arbitrators cannot yet be brought to agreement, then the court orders the accuser and accused to appear, and lays before them the means of accommodation. If they admit them, the court confirms their agreement with its seal of office : in

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the contrary case, it informs them that it has nothing farther to do with their dispute, and that they may apply to the court appointed by law for that purpose.

The most important behoof of the court of conscience, and by which it is in some measure the most venerable tribunal of the nation, and, in the strictest sense, the palladium of personal security, consists in this: When any one delivers a petition to the court of conscience, specifying that he has been detained in prison upwards of three days, and that in these three days it has not been shewn him why he is thus kept in prison, or that in these three days he has not been interrogated, then the court of conscience is bound, on receiving such petition, and before the court breaks up, to issue an order, that the prisoner (if he be not imprisoned for offences against the person of the sovereign, nor for treason, murder, theft, or robbery) be brought into the court of conscience, and be shewn, adding the reasons, why he is detained in arrest, or why he has not been interrogated. The order of the court of conscience in this case must be executed in the place at which it arrives, without losing an hour; but if the order is not fulfilled within the space of 24 hours, the president of the court shall be fined in the penalty of 500 rubles, and each of the assessors shall pay a

fine of 100. In regard to local distance, 25 versts are reckoned to a day.—If the court of conscience finds that the prisoner has not been detained for any of the crimes above specified, it issues an order to set him at liberty, on the receipt of that voucher, as well for his being brought forth as also for his presentation before that court of the province which he shall choose, and where his cause shall be adjudged. No one may pretend to put again in prison him who has been liberated by authority of the court of conscience, for their decision on the same matter: but his cause shall be determined by course of law. But in case the petitioner is in confinement on account of any of the before-mentioned crimes, or has imposed upon the court of conscience; or can bring no proof, the court of conscience shall remand him to prison, there to be kept more strictly than before *.

Public security differs from personal, in its having a more general aim. The former is properly the object of the police; the latter is, in most countries, committed to the administration of justice.

In proportion to the bulk, extent, and population of Petersburg, the public security is as

* See Gemälde von St. Petersburg, by the ingenious M. Heinrich Storch, for these and several other particulars.

great as any where. Robberies and murder are so seldom heard of, that all thought of danger is entirely banished. Accordingly, people walk alone, without any weapon or attendance, at all hours of the night, along the streets, and even in the remotest, most unfréquented, and even uninhabited parts of the town. This fact, extraordinary in such circumstances, is, however, not so much the consequence of a well-organized and vigilant police, as the effect of the good-tempered national character. The common Russian, if not corrupted by a long stay in the residence, seduced by the propensity to drink, or pressed by extreme want, is seldom disposed to excesses of this nature. To this may be added a certain reverence towards the superior ranks, which, from the sentiment of their vassalage, and from the way in which they are brought up, is peculiar to this people. This is so well-known, that it is no uncommon thing to put an officer's cockade in the hat as a sure means of defence against any attack a man might otherwise be liable to at such times as the populace are accustomed to think they have the privilege of being intoxicated, and consequently are more prone to commit acts of extravagance. An authoritative word, spoken in a commanding tone, has frequently more effect than the stoutest oaken staff.

In

In order to employ this method with impression, it is necessary indeed to be able to speak the language with fluency; but any one who has that advantage, and is familiar with the manners and the character of the nation, may at any time, in cases of extremity, excite the good nature of the populace, and save his purse or his life from any hostile attack. Among several instances afforded by experience of this, one may suffice.

A lady some years ago travelled up the country. Her road led through a village which had lately got an ill name for robberies and murders, and indeed was become formidable to the whole district. By some unforeseen circumstances, her arrival at this place was delayed till the night was somewhat advanced; and as the post-boors absolutely refused to drive her any further, she was obliged to put up at a cottage. A conversation between her driver and some people of the village, which by favour of the darkness she happened to overhear, justly filled her with serious alarm. On entering the cottage, she perceived several fellows, according to the custom of the country, lying on the stove. An old woman, whose physiognomy was not exactly adapted to inspire confidence, accosted her with the question, why she had hesitated to pass the night

night in that village, whether it was because she suspected that she might not be safe in her house ? and swore, at the same time, that there was not a man in it. The traveller, from long experience being well acquainted with the character of the nation, took care not to confute this lie ; on the contrary, she displayed the most perfect confidence, sat down with the utmost composure to take some refreshment, brought out a bottle of brandy from her case in the sledge, called down the fellows that were lying on the stove, and divided its contents among them. This behaviour, the bottle of brandy, and the friendly looks of the donor, had their due effect : the slumbering but not stifled sentiment of humanity awoke ; and the good-natured, careless, and joyful humour, which is so peculiar to the common Russians, soon broke out in noisy songs. The traveller, seeing that she had attained her aim, laid herself down to sleep in an adjacent room, in all appearance without any distrust, forbade her servants to bring the baggage and arms into the house, and even put out the light. At break of day she found a Russian breakfast prepared, and her carriage ready for her farther progress. Her departure from this band of robbers was a moral caricature of a most singular nature. With the confession of

their

their criminal way of life, she at the same time received from these people the assurance, that she and all passengers that should make use of her name, should be well received, and be lodged in safety: a promise which was accompanied with the rude but undisguised testimony of a hearty affection.

The police of St. Petersburg has a very simple and competent organization. Excepting the governor, whose office naturally extends to all objects of public welfare, the head police-master is the proper chief of the whole system of police. His office takes in the great compass of this department, but confined to the general objects of public security and order. He is not here, as in some large towns, the formidable co-partner of family secrets, and the invisible witness of the actions of the private man. Here are no spies, nor ought there to be, if Montesquieu be in the right *.

Under the head police-master is the police-office, where sit a police-master, two presidents, the one for criminal, the other for civil cases, and two consulters chosen from the burgher class. To this is committed the care to maintain decorum,

* "Faut-il des espions dans la monarchie? Ce n'est pas la pratique des bons princes."—*Esprit des Loix*, I. xii. chap. 25.

good order, and morals: also it is its business to see to the observance of the laws, that the orders issued by government, and the decisions of the courts of justice, are put in force. The attainment of these purposes is effected by the following mechanism :

The residence is divided into ten departments. Each of these has a president, appointed to watch over the laws, the security, and the order of his district. The duties and rights of this office are not less extensive than important. A president must have exact knowledge of the inhabitants of his department, over which a sort of parental authority is committed to him ; he is the *censor morum* of his department ; his house must not be bolted or barred by night or day, but must be a place of refuge continually open to all that are in danger or distress ; he himself may not quit the town for the space of two hours, without committing the discharge of his office to some other person. The police-commando (constables), and the watchmen of his department, are under his orders; and he is attended on all affairs of his office by two serjeants. Complaints against unjust behaviour in the president may be brought to the police-office.

Each department is again divided into three, four, or five subdivisions, called quarters, of which,

which, in the whole residence, are two and forty. Each of these has a quarter-inspector, in subordination to whom is a quarter-lieutenant. The duty of these police-officers is in harmony with that of the president, only that their activity is confined to a smaller circle. They settle law affairs and slight altercations on the spot, and keep a watchful eye on all that passes.

The number of the nightly watch in the city amounts to 500. They have their stations assigned them in watch-houses at the corners of streets ; and, besides their proper destination, are to assist in the taking up of offenders, and in any service by day or night, as their commanders shall require. Besides these, for the execution of the police orders, and to act as patroles, there is also a commando of 120 men, who, in cases of emergency, are supported by a pulk or company of kosaks, or a regiment of hussars.

This machine, consisting of so many subordinate parts, preserves in its orderly course that security and peace which excite the admiration of all foreigners. The activity of every individual member is unobserved in the operation of the whole ; and by such a distribution alone is the attainment of so complicated an aim practicable.—All the quarter-inspectors of a department repair every morning, at seven o'clock, to their

their inspector's house, to lay before him the report of all that has happened in their quarters during the last four and twenty hours; and at eight o'clock all the inspectors bring together these several reports into the police-office, whereupon they first and immediately take into examination the cases of persons taken into custody during the night. On urgent occasions the police-office assembles at all hours.

This organization, and the extraordinary vigilance of the police, which is found competent to the business of a numerous and restless people, render all secret inquisitions unnecessary. The police has knowledge of all persons in the residence; travellers who come and go are subject to certain formalities, which render it extremely difficult to conceal their place of abode, or their departure from the city. To this end, every householder and innkeeper is obliged to declare to the police who lodges with him, or what strangers have put up at his house. If a stranger or lodger stays out all night, the landlord must inform the police of it at latest on the third day of his absence from his house. The cautionary rules, in regard to travellers quitting the town, are still more strict. These must publish in the news-paper their name, their quality, and their place of abode, three several times,

times, and produce the news-papers containing the advertisement, as a credential in the government from which they then receive their passport, without which it is next to impossible to get out of the empire. This regulation not only secures the creditor of the person about to depart, but also enables the police to keep a closer inspection over all suspected inhabitants.

The great mixture of foreign inhabitants of all nations renders this inspection at all times, but especially at certain critical periods, highly necessary. There are always, in large populous towns, disorderly people, adventurers and impostors, who, by bold projects, by an infamous industry, or by criminal stratagems and tricks, seek occasion to disturb the quiet of civil society, or to rifle the purses of the public. The lenity of the government, the hospitable reception every honest stranger here enjoys, the easy and various means of gaining a livelihood, and the unlimited permission, attended with so many difficulties in other countries, of pursuing them in a lawful way, without distinction of nation or religious profession;—all these and other advantages are, however, not always sufficient to restrain such people within the bounds of propriety and decorum.

If individuals may be suspected by the government, because their means of support, the company they keep, and their whole course of action, are closely wrapped up in mystery, so likewise may whole societies be less indifferent to it, if they carefully conceal the object of their connection, or their very existence, from the eye of the public. The police watches here, with laudable attention, over secret societies of all kinds; and frequently as the fanatical spirit of religious or political sectaries, or the enthusiasm of pretended mystagogues, have attempted to nestle here, they have never been able to proceed, or only for a very short time. Animal magnetism, Martinism, Rosycrucianism, and by whatever other name the conceits of distempered imaginations may be called, have always been attended with the same bad success on this stage.

With equal diligence the police ransacks the blind purlieus of such as have an aversion to honest industry, and are attracted by the thirst of gain. If the ramparts of civil liberty prevent the police from having recourse to extreme measures for quelling the rage of gaming, yet great difficulties and obstacles are opposed to the propagation and extension of this dreadful political evil. By the police regulation only such

games are allowed as require bodily exertion and dexterity, or consist of a due proportion of hazard and skill. The nicer explanations on this latter are reserved for the laws. Concerning prohibited games, the police must have regard to the motives of the gamesters. All complaints and demands relative to play-debts, and the payment of them, are declared null. That no lotteries are permitted throughout the whole Russian empire is well known.

From this sketch it will be readily imagined, that the number of impostors and disturbers of the public peace can be but small. Quarrels and affrays in the street or in the cabaks but seldom happen. The person attacked calls the nearest watchman; and in a moment both the aggressor and the aggrieved are taken into custody, and led to the next sieja, (police watch-house,) where the cause of their quarrel is inquired into, and the aggressor is punished.—For matters of some descriptions, there is a peculiar tribunal, under the denomination of the oral court, which, on account of its singularity, deserves to be briefly noticed.

In each quarter of the town are one or more judges of the oral court, who are chosen from the class of burghers, and with whom are associated a few jurats. This court sits daily in the forenoon,

forenoon, and proceeds orally in all the differences that come before it: it, however, keeps a day-book, in which are entered all the causes and decisions of the court, and which must be every week laid before the magistrate. When a charge is brought, the court declares it orally to the president of the quarter: whereupon the accused must not delay his appearance before the police longer than one day after he has received the summons. Every cause must be determined in one day, or if the examinations require more time in collecting, in three days. The oral court communicates the decision to the president of the quarter by means of his day-book, in order to its ratification. If either party is not satisfied with the sentence, he may appeal to the court as appointed in the regulations.

The immense circulation occasioned by the necessaries and luxuries of the residence might provide a greater number of people with the means of subsistence. The growing increase of the town, and the great undertakings of the government, which here unite as in one large central point, employ as many hands as are to be had, and would employ more; the facility, therefore, with which work is to be found, and the high price of labour, leave idleness and indigence without excuse. And indeed no

beggars are seen here, unless one should give that name to a few children who here and there run about, and ask for a polushka. Old, infirm distempered people, and similar objects of disgust, are absolutely not permitted to follow begging. For the really poor, and persons incapable of earning their bread, a poor-house is provided, and maintained upon an excellent plan; but for the industrious who look out for work, and the idlers that are able to work, the following useful and salutary regulations are made:

In pursuance of the police ordinance of the year 1782, servant-brokers (or, as we should say, register-offices) are appointed, where every day, at certain hours, people who seek service or work, as well as masters who want servants, may apply. The broker is bound to enter in his book the name, the time, and the requisites or proposals of the several persons who apply, as also the terms of the contract; which book is taken as evidence in case disputes should afterwards arise. In order to induce the public to benefit by this institution of such general utility, it is at the same time ordained, that the oral court and the police-office shall admit of no complaints between master and servant, if the contract cannot be produced in the broker-book; but servants and workmen who neglect to apply to

the broker, are driven out of the town and the district.

The work-house of the residence takes in not only such people as would willingly work, and find no employment, but is chiefly filled with idlers, vagrants, disorderly persons, sturdy beggars, and thieves who have not stolen above the value of 20 rubles. As such a conjunction of crimes with helpless industry is contrary to the maxims of an enlightened police, so this institution, according to its original destination, was dedicated only to the latter. But because, either from prejudices formed against the institution, or because, as it is most reasonable to think, there is a superfluity of means of livelihood, but very few such persons are found, this institution is almost entirely confined to forced workmen. The superintendance of it belongs to the college of general provision, who, therefore, settle the mode and measure of employment according to the sex, the age, and the bodily frame of each. It is likewise permitted to private persons to send their servants hither for punishment; in this case, however, they must pay three kopeeks a day for each person's board, in addition to the profit on their labour, to the institution. On an average about 800 persons are kept here annually. A small hospital connected with this

institution had, on the 1st of January 1790, 107 patients of both sexes.

For criminals condemned to labour by the laws, there is a house of correction. This is likewise under the management of the college of general provision, which endeavours to make the penal labour of these people, particularly in regard to manufactures, useful to the state. In pursuance of an ordinance of government the house of correction is destined for the following descriptions of civil and moral offenders; for children who are disobedient to their parents, or habitually pursue bad courses; for people who having run out their circumstances, have contracted twice as many debts as they have the means to pay, or are guilty of scandalous breaches of decorum; for persons who publicly follow a course of life which is contrary to sound morals and the regulations of a good police; for worthless and lazy rogues and vagabonds; for stout and obstinate vagrants and beggars; lastly, for women who lead a scandalous, impudent, and profligate life.—Offenders of these kinds are put into the house of correction, either in pursuance of the sentence of a court of judicature, or at the request of parents, presidents, or masters, though not without evidence wherefore. Here also private persons must pay a slight allowance,

as in the work-house. The men are separated from the women ; and all the people confined must be called only by their christian names. The obstinate and refractory may be chastised, by order of the head overseer, by beating, or punished by being shut up and kept on bread and water. The annual number of persons under correction here is between 7 and 900.

These institutions, into which the residence discharges all its sluggish, foul, and infectious parts, as into a receiver, stand in so close a connection with the prisons of the courts of judicature, that it would render this account incomplete, to omit the mention of them here.

The new town-jail, which, as far as practicable, is constructed and disposed upon Mr. Howard's plan, consists of a large, strong-built, pentagon edifice, of two stories. Outwardly it has no windows, and only one gate, which is of iron ; each of the five angles is terminated by a tower, which rises above the roof, and serves as a magazine. Each story has only one suite of chambers, all opening into a covered gallery. The rooms are dissimilar in size; but are fitted up in exactly the same manner. The windows are all placed high ; each cell is provided with a cubic stove, a small table and seat of masonry, an iron outer door, and in the wall a water-closet.

closet. In the open place which forms the area of the building, is a smaller prison of the same shape with the larger, which, with cells of a like construction with the others, contains a chapel, a comptoir, a guard-house, and a chamber of correction. The remaining space, in breadth about six fathom, is left for indulging the prisoners in the benefit of taking the air. The whole building has hitherto continued quite empty.

Of the other jails, which are only three, that of the police is the most remarkable. This house, which is commonly called the Politzey, because here the chancery of it was formerly held, is at present the principal place of detention for all delinquents that come within the cognizance of the police. Accordingly, here are kept, previous to their trial, fraudulent insolvents and bankrupts, swindlers, gamesters, bullies, cheats, thieves, and fanatics of all christian sects, and of all nations in motley mixture. This strange collection of beings is productive of no less singular effects. The rich purchase accommodations of the poor; the cunning over-reach the simple; separated from all human society, a sort of petty republic is formed within these walls, in which the two grand levers of human activity, indigence and passion, play their

their part as well as without them. Thus, a few years ago, an inhabitant of this mansion picked up money by the mysteries of an order of which he was a member, by admitting, for a small reception-fee, a considerable number of worthy proselytes. Another had been favoured with the permission to separate his sleeping-place by a screen, where he lived in company with his serfs, who, by the duties of their vassalage, were obliged to follow him into this abode. Here he gave a friendly reception to all comers, whose looks and dress seemed promising, and drew from them what money they had, either at cards or by giving them a goblet or two of strong punch, with such artifice that never any got out of his clutches without leaving behind them, in his lurking corner, whatever they had, and sometimes even a part of their clothes.—This house, which seems to harbour within its walls only vice and criminality, at times also exhibits some noble instance of human action, as a few scattered rays are seen to mingle in the gloomy colours of a painted night-piece. Not for the purpose of relieving the shades, but as a small memorial of an unknown generous action, the following anecdote may here be permitted to find a place.

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A young german nobleman, who had for a long time indulged himself in the usual follies of his age with the utmost thoughtlessness and extravagance, was put into the politzey by his creditors. In this deplorable situation, abandoned by all his former acquaintance, a damsel of the common class, who had shared his purse in better days, remained true to him. She followed him to prison, waited on him with unwearied care during a violent illness with which he was attacked, supplied him with all kinds of necessaries, sold, when all her money was gone, what furniture and clothes she had, and at length went about begging for her unfortunate friend. At the end of eleven months, when he was released by death from this unhappy condition, she caused him to be decently interred with the remainder of the alms she had procured, and then—consented to the offer of marriage long ago made her by a man in good circumstances, with whom she might have enjoyed the conveniences and pleasures of life, and which she had hitherto refused only because she thought it dishonourable to forsake her first lover in his distress. This circumstance she mentioned to her husband previous to their marriage.

Great as the security of the city is in regard to acts of open violence, yet it is necessary for every one to be upon his guard against artful impostures and deep-laid stratagems. The frequent instances of this kind make every Russian wary, and therefore they are not so easily made the dupes of their countrymen; but so much the more do they make up for this at the expence of strangers and foreigners, particularly when they are not acquainted with the language of the country. The shopkeepers and merchants commonly ask three times, and frequently even five times as much as the commodity is worth; the unknowing offer the half, and think they have made a good bargain, till they find, when too late, that they have been miserably cheated. To give damaged goods a fair appearance, to defraud in measure and weight in an imperceptible manner, to slip bad goods among the better that have been bought and ordered home; all these, and a multitude of other tricks, no dealers in the world understand better than the Russian. As the Russians in general are surprisingly cunning and of quick parts; they are eminently addicted to this species of industry; and the pickpockets of St. Petersburg and Mosco may safely lay wagers on their dexterity with those of London and Paris.

Some time since the following affair happened at Mosco, which excited great curiosity both there and at the residence ; and, on account of its originality, deserves to be noticed while we are on this subject. A wealthy nobleman, well known as a fancier of precious stones, fell accidentally in company with a person unknown to him, who wore on his finger a ring of great beauty and value. After a long discourse on its real worth, the nobleman offered him a considerable price for it, which the stranger at first refused, on the reasonable ground that he had no desire to part with it. At length, however, to evade the repeated importunities of the nobleman, he declared that he could not sell it, because — the stones were not genuine. This declaration filled all the company, among whom were connoisseurs, with amazement. The nobleman, in order to be sure of the matter, desired to have the ring for a few days against sufficient security, received it, and ran from one jeweller to another, who all unanimously pronounced the stones to be genuine, and of great value. With this assurance, and the hope of a good bargain, he brought back the ring to its owner, who, on receiving it, put it, with great indifference, into his waistcoat pocket. The negotiation now began afresh : the stranger persisted

filled in his resolution, till at length the nobleman offered a sum which was pretty near the true value of it. "This ring," returned the stranger, "is a token of friendship; but I am not rich enough to reject so large a sum as you offer for it. Yet this high offer is the very reason of my not complying. How can you, if you are thoroughly conscious of what you are doing, offer so much money for a ring, which the owner himself confesses to be made up of false stones?" "If your determination depends only on that," replied the buyer, "here take at once the sum," (laying it in bank-notes upon the table,) "and I call the gentlemen here present to witness, that I voluntarily, and after due consideration, pay it." The seller took the money, and gave the nobleman the ring, repeating the declaration, that the stones were false, and that it was still time to make the bargain void. The latter obstinately refused to hearken to his advice, hastened joyfully home, and found — what the reader has already guessed — that the stranger had said what was too true. Instead of the genuine ring, he had a false one made exactly like the other. The affair was brought into a court of justice; but, as the seller proved, that during the whole business there was no question at all about genuine stones; that

that the purchaser expressly treated only for a false ring, and he on the other hand sold him only a false ring ; accordingly the judge was obliged to pronounce in favour of the latter.

The arts of cheating in the article of provisions are no where better understood than here. Ordinary deceptions of this nature happen every where ; but when one looks at a fowl, which to all appearance is finely fattened, and finds it only filled with wind ; or asparagus, deprived of their eatable part, pointed again and coloured with a tempting verdure ; no man will call these ordinary tricks.

A lady, who had not been long come out of Germany, and had heard much from her acquaintance at Petersburg of the many artifices of that nature practised in that city, took the resolution to use the utmost caution in all her dealings, in order to refute the common opinion, that every stranger must buy his wisdom. Several days passed on : one morning, however, a rasnoschtschik * entered her apartment, and offered her a pound of tea, the last remains of what he had to sell. She weighed the parcel, and found it just : she made a trial ; the tea was unadulterated, and well flavoured : she shook it

* Rasnoschtschiks are venders of small articles about the streets.

all out into a basin ; no deceit was discoverable. She inquired the price, and offered a third part of what he asked : the vender was naturally not satisfied with this offer ; turned his tea back again into the box, wrapped a cloth about it, and crammed it into his bosom. At length the bargain was struck, and the commodity delivered ; however, prudence does no harm ; the lady opened the box, and saw the tea she had bought. She shut it up, to the great joy of the seller, who in the mean time had asked her, smiling, why she was so extremely cautious, and why she had so very bad an opinion of his honesty. The money was paid ; the rasnoschtschik went his way ; and some days after the box was found full of sand and grains, excepting the surface, which was really good tea.

Matters of this kind are frequent in all great towns, where the numerous population renders every detection more difficult, and the distance and difference between the circumstances of fortune rouse the passions, and urge the human intellect to every species of industry. The height of civilization and refinement, as well as the extreme of immorality and corruption, are only to be looked for in towns of the first magnitude. The means to prevent these evils are not in the hands of the police ; no human invention

tion can hinder an effect where the cause is natural; and to remove this, we must follow the plan of the philosophers, who banish the human race into forests and mountains, where the greatest integrity resides with the greatest brutality.

The public security is not only brought into jeopardy by human attacks of fraud and violence: Nature also seems at times to have conspired against it. The results of the grand, eternal, and beneficent laws, by which she acts upon the whole, are nevertheless very frequently destructive to the parts; and man, by an inexplicable decree, is obliged to arm himself, as against an assassin, even against Nature, from whose hand he receives his being, his support, and his enjoyments. The natural and accidental violations of public security are therefore not less an important object of police. An accurate detail of all the particular institutions to this end would lie beyond the limits of this book. The following instance, drawn from the whole, will suffice as a characteristic of this department of the police of St. Petersburg.

That city, from its situation at the mouth of a large navigable river, is very often exposed to inundations. On a continuance of westerly winds the water rises to the height of ten feet above

above its ordinary level. At five feet it overflows only the western parts of the town, in places where the Neva has no rampart; but on a swell of the water to ten feet, only the eastern-most parts escape a general inundation. In the year 1777, on Sunday the 10th of September, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, the water rose to the height of ten feet seven inches above its usual level; and though in two hours afterwards it had again retired within its banks, yet this short inundation produced very extraordinary effects. A ship from Lubeck was carried into the wood on Vassilli-ostroff; the duchess of Kingston's famous yacht, which she had quitted a few days before, was cast upon the bar, and greatly damaged; many wooden houses were washed away; and several persons had lost their lives during the obscurity of the night.

Since this remarkable inundation proper measures of prudence and caution have been adopted. For several years the height of the water had been regularly marked at the castle. Now, at all risings of the river, signals were appointed at the admiralty, as a warning to the inhabitants. Whenever it rises above its banks at the mouth of the great Neva, notice is given to the town by three distinct firings of a cannon, which are repeated at intervals, as the danger increases. Within the

town, in this case, five cannons are fired from the admiralty-battery, and on the steeple of it by day four white flags are displayed, and by night four lanterns are hung out; and at the same time the church-bells are slowly tolled. In places most exposed to the inundation, vessels are kept in readiness for saving the people. These regulations, the increasing buildings, the embanking, and the magnificent stone quay of the Neva, and the extension of the water-surface by the various canals, render these western gales less alarming to the inhabitants of St. Petersburg; so that a swell of five feet above the level now excites but little or even no attention.

Also the danger of depredation by fires is no longer so great as formerly, as the number of wooden houses visibly diminishes; and the regulations for extinguishing the fires and the saving of property are better and more complete. For this purpose the police keeps in its pay ten fire-masters and 1622 men, who are employed solely to this object. Calamities of this nature are at present but seldom heard of; and when they happen, it is commonly in the out-lying parts of the town, where the houses are mostly of timber, and very old. During the last seven years, in the better streets, never more than one house is burnt down, and even this is generally of wood.

The people of the police are become so dexterous, that at one of the last accidents to which the author of this account was a witness, a small wooden house that stood contiguous to the one on fire, was so perfectly preserved, that it received not the slightest damage. At the imperial loan bank, is an insurance-office, where one and a half *per cent.* is paid on three fourths of the annual rate at which the house or fabrick is taxed.

Though quick driving along the streets is forbidden, yet from various causes it is impossible entirely to prevent it; and, for the following reasons, it is no where attended with less danger than at St. Petersburg. All the streets are broad and spacious: their running in straight lines enables the driver to see a long way before him; in many of the streets is a raised footway, which secures the pedestrian from danger. Besides, the Russians are excellent coachmen; and, as they are answerable for every accident occasioned by their negligence or want of skill, they not only call out to the foot-passengers, while at some distance, but even turn off in cases of necessity. The manner of their calling too is almost always appropriate: for example, "Old gentleman! Good mother! Soldier! Fish-cryer!" &c. Not only here, but throughout all Russia,

it is the universal custom, in driving, to keep the right side of the way ; hence the perpetual cry in the streets : “ Na prava !” *i. e.* “ To the right !” Whoever goes contrary to this custom, is in danger of being chastised on the spot, or at least of receiving a volley of abuse.

On all occasions when a great number of people or equipages are collected together, the police-officers must be present, who, by the assistance of soldiers or kofaks on horseback, keep such good order, that one seldom or never hears of an accident. At the theatres, at court, at the clubs, especially at the entertainments given in the palaces, and at promenades on certain festivals, there are frequently several thousands of carriages and an immense multitude of people on foot : the former observe exactly certain rules prescribed, and the latter may be present without the least danger, even from the tumultuous rabble. He must indeed be a very partial observer, who does not take notice of this extraordinary vigilance and caution, which is always admired by foreigners. At every entertainment, every public dinner in the town, on every occasion where the number of carriages is somewhat considerable, the police-officers are immediately there, for the preservation of order and the prevention of accidents. On the bridges across

across the Neva some of them are constantly present, as there the throng of passengers is uncommonly great. The same care is taken concerning dangerous scaffolds at buildings and at the diversions of the populace. The ice-hills and other national sports would certainly cost many people their lives, were it not for these good regulations, by which, however, accidents cannot at all times be prevented; and therefore the government is gradually endeavouring to abolish them by limiting the period of their duration. The freezing and breaking-up of the ice of the Neva may be dangerous to the public security; therefore, on these occasions too, the proper cautionary regulations are not forgotten. As soon as the ice begins to be porous and unsafe, care is taken to break it near the shores, to prevent passengers from getting upon it; and notices are stuck upon posts for the same purpose. Besides these precautions, the soldiers of the police are at these times continually present, who are frequently obliged to restrain by force the fool-hardy populace from venturing their lives for a trifling wager. The writer of this account was himself an eye-witness of such a man, at the most imminent hazard of his life, walking over the porous, deep-grey coloured ice of the river, which is as

broad as the Thames at London-bridge, by means of a couple of boards which he took with him, laying the one at the end of the other alternately as he passed over them, often sparing himself this trouble, on feeling that a piece of the ice would just bear his weight without it. In this manner, in the presence of hundreds of spectators, he was got near the opposite shore, when a police-officer standing there, seeing him coming, held up his stick, threatening to give him a hearty welcome with it on his reaching the land. The apprehension of this slight chastisement outweighed the fear for his life; he forgot the precaution he had before observed, his boards and his danger; ran back as fast as he could, and safely arrived on the other shore.

The making up and the sending out of medicines from the shops of the apothecaries by careless or wicked servants may so easily give occasion to dreadful misfortunes or crimes, that particular prudential regulations are thought necessary in this respect here. Every recipè must not only be signed with the name of the physician who prescribes it, but must also mention the patient for whom it is prescribed, with the day of the month and the year. To the medicine a label is affixed, mentioning, besides this

this date, the price of the medicine, and the name of the apothecary and his shop. But the best regulation is, that each, even the most simple medicine, must be sealed. All physicians, surgeons, and midwives, who intend to practise in the Russian empire, must undergo an examination at the college of medicine, which then grants them a licence; and this licence must be published in the gazette.

Her majesty's care for the public security extended also to the passing of laws and regulations for the prevention of dangerous and contagious diseases, to the inspection of damaged provisions, and a multitude of ordinances of like nature; but most of them so much resemble what are met with in other countries, that it would be needless to give a particular account of them. This subject then may properly be concluded by noticing one of the most important and interesting of all the regulations that belong to the general system of police.

The reader will recollect, that the publication and enforcement of the decrees of the sovereign, according to the before-mentioned Instruction, is one of the primary duties of the police-office. For the exercise of it the following remarkable form was prescribed by Catherine II. Whenever a law, promulgated by the

autocratic authority, and subscribed by her imperial majesty's own hand, or an ordinance from the places constituted for that purpose, is sent to the police-office, it must be entered in the proper books, when, whence, and how it received this law. If it be sent for publication, then the crown advocate of the police-office is to be called, and his legal opinion taken: if there appear then any doubtful point, it must be represented in the place appointed; but if no doubt arise; then a resolution must be made concerning its publication. This done, the law must first be read in the assembly of the members of the police-office, then with open doors at the president of the quarter's house, and at the quarter-inspector's; and hereupon the publication is performed.

The foregoing facts will probably be sufficient for giving some adequate notion of the state of the police in the residence, which, for the form and méthod, is the same in all the towns throughout the empire; and, at the same time, will serve to shew the spirit which actuated the institutions for which the empire is indebted to Catharine II.

APPENDIX
TO THE
SECOND VOLUME.

No. I.

SUBSTANCE of the TREATY between the Courts of PETERSBURG and BERLIN, ratified the 15th of April 1764.

BY articles 1 and 2, a treaty of defensive alliance, and a mutual guarantee, are agreed to, after reserving the liberty of concluding other treaties not contrary to the present.

3—9. In case of a foreign attack, 10,000 infantry and 2000 cavalry are promised, three months after the first requisition, to be continued till a cessation of hostilities. If these are not sufficient, means to be concerted to employ additional force. The troops to be paid, and furnished with ammunition, by the party assisting; provisions and quarters to be furnished by the assisted. The troops to receive orders from their own general, and to have their own religion and laws.

10. No peace, &c, to be concluded without mutual consent.

11. In case of war on the part of the assisting party, it shall be exempted from furnishing its quota, or shall be at liberty to withdraw its forces, after two months notice.

12. A free commerce between the two states.

13, 14. The treaty to be in force eight years, and renewable before the expiration, according to circumstances. Ratifications to be exchanged in six weeks.

By a secret article it is engaged to maintain Poland in its right of a free election, and to prevent all hereditary succession.

No. II.

MEMORIAL of the PORTE, delivered in March 1764, to the FOREIGN MINISTERS at that COURT, in relation to the future Election of a King of POLAND.

AMICABLE MEMORIAL.

NOTICE has been lately given to the ambassadors our friends, that it was the intention of the Sublime Porte, that the ancient liberties of the court of Poland should not be encroached upon by foreign courts; that the king of Poland, who is to be set up, should be elected and established in the person of a native, as by the concurrence of the republic of Poland; and that no foreigner should be made king. Yet advices received from divers places import, that there is room to think, that disturbances are raised in Poland in order to get a person set by force on the polish throne, who is supported by certain powers. Though we are not quite perswaded of the reality of these advices, a memorial has been delivered to each of the ministers of Russia, Germany, and Prussia, importing, that as the Sublime Porte takes it to be honourable to maintain and support the ancient liberties of the Poles; and as the same Sublime Porte does not cramp the election that ought to be made of a king in the person of a native of the country;

the

the Sublime Porte therefore desires, that the other powers will likewise do honour to the liberties of the Poles, and that they will not oppose the election of a king in the person of such Piaſt (native) as the Poles may judge eligible. In conſequence, this notice is given to the ambafſadors our friends.

No. III.

PROTEST against the POLISH DIET assembled for the Election of a King, drawn up and signed the 7th May 1764, by twenty Senators ; to which Protest forty-five Nuncios afterwards signed an Act of Adherence.

1. THE diet cannot be held in preſence of the foreign troops that surround the city.
2. The senators did not engage the Russians to come ; they gave no thanks for their being ſent, and have not any way given occasion for their arrival.
3. The Russians have committed an act of violence in Lithuania, by favouring a pernicious confederacy made for diſturbing the public tranquillity.
4. It is againſt all justice, that in the memorial of the Russian minifters, delivered to the primate the 4th instant, the troops of the crown are accused of having meddled in the dietines and other public acts.
5. It is by the unjust proceedings of the same foreign troops, that the general dietine of Prussia has proved abortive ; and this is another motive for protesting againſt this diet.
6. All good patriots, who love justice, are invited to unite for the ſupport of liberty.

At the end of this manifesto there is an adhesion to the protests of the ſenators, ſigned by forty-five nuncios.

No. IV.

A DISCOURSE addressed by his POLISH MAJESTY to the PRINCE PRIMATE and the MARSHAL of the DIET, in the Cathedral of WARSAW, when he received the Diploma of his Election, and took the Oath usual on that Occasion.

IT was not my design to speak in public at this time; but, in presenting me with the diploma of my election, that solemn token of the nation's love, you, Mr. Marechal, have exhorted the sovereign to speak to his people. These words of your discourse oblige me to speak, and to discover the feelings that passed within me, when the moment approached of taking the oath by which I have now bound myself in your presence. Nay, I am even rejoiced that I have now an occasion of shewing you, Mr. Marechal, together with the senators and states of the republic, my real sentiments, that thus ye may judge whether my views, principles, and actions, will in any wise tend to satisfy your desires, and to accomplish your hopes.

When, by united acclamations, the respectable citizens of this vast kingdom deigned to confer upon their equal the dignity of monarch, I bowed my head with the most profound respect in receiving this precious mark of the favour, liberty, and unanimity of this great people.

After my election, the impulse of gratitude led me to the sanctuary to pay my homage to the King of kings, because it is there that he is more peculiarly pleased with the tribute of mortals. And now that I am again called to the same sanctuary, it appeared to me, while I was approaching to it, that I was called before the throne of him who governs the universe, and presides over the course of the revolving ages. At this thought I was filled with awe; my veins also trembled when I was obliged to pronounce that irrevocable engagement, in consequence of which the honour and

and prosperity of the polish nation, and the safety and happiness of the individuals that compose it, are committed to the trust of one man ; and I feel so much the more the weight of this important trust, in that I have long shared with you the calamities that flow from that want of order, union, and vigour, that has clouded the lustre of this once glorious and flourishing kingdom. I acknowledge that, in that solemn moment, a discouraging view of the obligations I was going to contract, and a consciousness of my own insufficiency and weakness, made the deepest impression upon me ; I was seized with a sort of terror ; my voice lost its usual tone, my tongue faltered, and the words of the regal oath, though dear to my heart, which acquiesces in them perfectly, could not find an utterance : but when I turned my eyes to you, Mr. Primate, when I heard you repeat the words of the oath, I could not behold you in any other light than as the minister of the Most High, and therefore thought it my duty to submit to your guidance. Since the clamours of discord and party-hatred have been reduced to silence by your venerable presence ; since a multitude of tongues, which spoke each a different language, have become all of a sudden, as it were by a miracle, the unanimous echoes of yours ; you must certainly be filled with the Holy Spirit, that spirit of power, wisdom, and truth. Hitherto you have been my guide. Be still my kind assistant and counsellor. Continue to cherish and keep alive the zeal and attachment of those loyal hearts which your goodness and humanity gained over to my cause. Let your wisdom and resolution concur with my best endeavour to hold with dignity, and manage with prudence, the helm of government, at which you been charged by the nation to place me. As the marshal of the diet has been joined with you in this commission, both inclination and duty oblige me to address myself to him also on this occasion.

You desire me to speak, sir, and it is with the utmost pleasure that I comply with this desire. I thereby have an oppor-

opportunity of declaring that I love and honour your person, your virtues, and your talents. This declaration is not the effect of that warm gratitude that impels me to speak to you at this time ; it is the effect of a long observation of those qualities which have produced one fruit ; and may that fruit always prove agreeable to our dear country ! You, sir, are called to appear before the throne, as the representative of that spirited and respectable nobility, which commands me to govern the republic according to the Laws ; and it is natural, that I should be desirous of employing the good offices of one whose person is so agreeable, and whose testimony is so weighty as yours, to assure that nobility of the sincerity of my resolutions and intentions with respect to that important object. Tell that nobility, that it is my fixed purpose to employ the remainder of my days, and all the means and opportunities that it shall please the Divine Providence to place within the extent of my power, in answering the expectations of my dear countrymen : but at the same time exhort them, conjure them, to lend their zealous succours to a sovereign who has their happiness and prosperity deeply at heart, and who will never aim at any other object than the public good. Where is the person that does not see, and also feel, the disorders and calamities under which the nation labours ? A dismal experience points out too plainly the pernicious source from whence these calamities flow. Self-interest and envy have produced discord, and thus thrown all things into confusion. A spirit of faction has perplexed our councils, and thus rendered impotent the natural instruments of our safety and of our glory ; and those treasures that ought to have been employed in maintaining the vigour and splendour of this republic, are become the prey of that fatal luxury, whose pernicious effects increase from day to day. Let our union then heal those calamities, which all other means will be insufficient to remove ! You know by experience, that a few tools of faction can destroy with more facility than the majority

majority can build. Let emulation, that useful virtue, that seems to border upon envy, from which nevertheless it differs extremely, animate our efforts. Let us all run the noble race of patriotism, and endeavour to surpass one another, in aiming at true merit, and proposing to ourselves no other glory but that which is acquired by serving our country. But to what will amount the desires and the projects of feeble mortals, if they are not seconded by him whose word commands nations and empires to rise or fall? Great God! whose hand has raised me to the high station I now fill, thou doest nothing in vain. Thou hast given me the crown; and thou hast given me with it an ardent desire to restore this kingdom to its former prosperity and grandeur. Finish, therefore, thy own work! Let my prayer arise to the throne of thee, by whom kings reign! Inspire the hearts of this people with that zeal for the public that fills mine!

No. V.

MANIFESTO published by the Court of PETERSBURG, on
occasion of the Death of Prince IVAN.

BY the grace of God, we Catharine the second, empress and sovereign of all the Russias, &c. to all whom these presents may concern.

When, by the divine will, and in compliance with the ardent and unanimous desires of our faithful subjects, we ascended the throne of Russia, we were not ignorant that Ivan, son of Anthony, prince of Brunswic-Wolfenbuttle, and the princess Anne of Mecklenburgh, was still alive. This prince, as is well known, was, immediately after his birth, unlawfully declared heir to the imperial crown of Russia;

Russia; but, by the decrees of Providence, he was soon after irrevocably excluded from that high dignity, and the sceptre placed in the hands of the lawful heiress, Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the great, our beloved aunt of glorious memory. After we had ascended the throne, and offered up to heaven our just thanksgivings, the first object that employed our thoughts, in consequence of that humanity that is natural to us, was the unhappy situation of that prince, who was dethroned by the Divine Providence, and had been unfortunate ever since his birth; and we formed the resolution of alleviating his misfortunes, as far as was possible. We immediately made a visit to him, in order to judge of his understanding and talents, and, in consequence thereof, to procure him an agreeable and quiet situation, suitable to his character, and the education he had received. But how great was our surprise, when, besides a defect in his utterance, that was uneasy to himself, and rendered his discourse almost unintelligible to others, we observed in him a total privation of sense and reason! Those who accompanied us during this interview saw how much our heart suffered at the view of an object so fitted to excite compassion; they were also convinced that the only measure we could take to succour the unfortunate prince, was to leave him where we found him, and to procure him all the comforts and conveniences that his situation would admit of. We accordingly gave our orders for this purpose, though the state he was in prevented his perceiving the marks of our humanity, or being sensible of our attention and care; for he knew nobody, could not distinguish between good and evil, nor did he know the use that might be made of reading, to pass the time with less weariness and disgust: on the contrary, he sought after pleasure in objects that discovered, with sufficient evidence, the disorder of his imagination.

To prevent, therefore, ill-intentioned persons from giving him any trouble, or from making use of his name or orders to disturb the public tranquillity, we gave him a guard, and placed about his person two officers of the garrison, in whose fidelity

fidelity and integrity we could confide. These officers were captain Vlassieff and lieutenant Tschekin, who, by their long military services, which had considerably impaired their health, deserved a suitable recompence, and a station in which they might pass quietly the rest of their days ; they were accordingly charged with the care of the prince, and were strictly enjoined to let none approach him. Yet all these precautions were not sufficient to prevent an abandoned profligate from committing at Schlusselburg, with unparalleled wickedness, and at the risk of his own life, an outrage, whose enormity inspires horror. A second lieutenant of the regiment of Smolensko, a native of the Ukraine, named Basil Mirovitch, grandson of the first rebel that followed Mazeppa, and a man in whom the perjury of his ancestors seems to have been infused with their blood ; this profligate, having passed his days in debauchery and dissipation, and being thus deprived of all honourable means of advancing his fortune ; having also lost sight of what he owed to the law of God, and of the oath of allegiance he had taken to us ; and knowing prince Ivan only by name, without any knowledge either of his bodily or mental qualities ; took it into his head to make use of this prince to advance his fortune at all events, without being restrained by the consideration of the bloody scene that such an attempt was adapted to occasion. In order to execute this detestable, dangerous, and desperate project, he desired, during our absence in Livonia, to be upon guard, out of his turn, in the fortrefs of Schlusselburg, where the guard is relieved every eight days ; and the 15th of last month, about two o'clock in the morning, he all of a sudden called up the main guard, formed it into a line, and ordered the soldiers to load with ball. Berednikoff, governor of the fortrefs, having heard a noise, came out of his apartment, and asked Mirovitch the reason of this disturbance, but received no other answer from this rebel than a blow on the head with the butt-end of his musket. Mirovitch, having

wounded and arrested the governor, led on his troop with fury, and attacked with fire-arms the handful of soldiers that guarded prince Ivan. But he was so warmly received by those soldiers under the command of the two officers mentioned above, that he was obliged to retire. By a particular direction of that Providence that watches over the life of man, there was that night a thick mist, which, together with the inward form and situation of the fortress, had this happy effect, that not one individual was either killed or wounded. The bad success of this first attempt could not engage this enemy of the public peace to desist from his rebellious purpose. Driven on by rage and despair, he ordered a piece of cannon to be brought from one of the bastions, which order was immediately executed. Captain Vlassieff and his lieutenant Tschekin, seeing that it was impossible to resist such a superior force, and considering the unhappy consequences that must ensue from the deliverance of a person that was committed to their care, and the effusion of innocent blood that must follow from the tumults it was adapted to excite, took, after deliberating together, the only step that they thought proper to maintain the public tranquillity, which was to cut short the days of the unfortunate prince. Considering also, that if they set at liberty a prisoner, whom this desperate party endeavoured to force with such violence out of their hands, they ran the risk of being punished according to the rigour of the laws, they assassinated the prince, without being restrained by the apprehension of being put to death by a villain reduced to despair. The monster (Mirovitch), seeing the dead body of the prince, was so confounded and struck at a sight he so little expected, that he acknowledged, that very instant, his temerity and his guilt, and discovered his repentance to the troop which about an hour before he had seduced from their duty, and rendered the accomplices of his crime.

Then it was, that the two officers, who had nipped this rebellion in the bud, joined with the governor of the fortres,

in

in securing the person of this rebel, and in bringing back the soldiers to their duty. They also sent to our privy counsellor Panin, under whose orders they acted, a relation of this event, which, though unhappy, has nevertheless, under the protection of Heaven, been the occasion of preventing still greater calamities. This senator dispatched immediately lieutenant-colonel Kafchkin, with sufficient instructions to maintain the public tranquillity, to prevent disorder on the spot, (*i. e.* where the assassination was committed,) and sent us, at the same time, a courier with a circumstantial account of the whole affair. In consequence of this, we ordered lieutenant general Weymarn, of the division of St. Petersburg, to take the necessary informations upon the spot; this he has done, and has sent us accordingly the interrogatories, depositions, and the confession of the villain himself, who has acknowledged his guilt.

Sensible of the enormity of his crime, and of its consequences with regard to the peace of our country, we have referred the whole affair to the consideration of our senate, which we have ordered, jointly with the synod, to invite the three first classes, and the presidents of all the colleges, to hear the verbal relation of general Weymarn, who has taken the proper informations; to pronounce sentence in consequence thereof; and, after that sentence has been signed, to present it to us for our confirmation of the same.

The original is signed by her imperial majesty's own hand.
CATHARINE,

COPY of a DECLARATION delivered on the 4th of November 1766, to the KING and REPUBLIC of POLAND, by Mr. WROUGHTON, the BRITISH MINISTER at WARSAW, in behalf of the DISSIDENTS of that Kingdom.

HIS britannic majesty, ever excited by reasonable desires of protecting by all methods the christian protestants, especially

cially those who, by virtue of particular conventions, have a right to expect his assistance, finds himself obliged to repeat his pressing representations in favour of that oppressed part of the polish nation, known by the name of Dissidents; wherefore the undersigned, in conformity to fresh orders from the king, his most gracious sovereign, has the honour to represent to you, sir, and to the republic of Poland, that his britannic majesty, besides the many solid motives of justice and humanity, which give him reason to hope for a happy success of the present negotiations relative to this affair, finding himself compelled, by a strict alliance with the courts of Petersburg, Berlin, and Copenhagen, to interest himself in behalf of the Dissidents, in all the forms of law, and in quality of guarantee of the treaty of peace of Oliva, wishes that, in the present diet, this virtuous but unhappy part of the polish subjects may be re-established, as members of the state, in the possession of their rights and privileges, as well as in the peaceable enjoyment of their mode of worship, which every one knows belonged to them before the signing of the said treaty of Oliva. At the same time his britannic majesty considers how great is the connection between the interests even of the republic and the justice of this affair, as well as the fundamental laws of the kingdom; laws which were not only observed for two centuries, but renewed by treaties with the northern powers, so solemn, that they do not permit the least alteration to be undertaken, unless with the general consent of the contracting parties. For these causes his britannic majesty, filled with confidence of the equity and penetration of his polish majesty, who, from the beginning of his reign, has given so many testimonies of zeal for the happiness of mankind, and of love towards the administration of justice in the republic, has not the least doubt that his just desires will no longer be opposed by references to inefficacious constitutions, established in the midst of intestine troubles, contradicted by the formal protestations and express declarations on the part of foreign powers.

Although

Although the rights and privileges of the Dissidents are founded on a doctrine, whose principles of charity and benevolence make it characteristical of christianity; and the divinity of its institutor, who first preached it, renders it still less a matter of doubt; yet it is this religion, of which the exercise is disturbed, and of which its professors are excluded from all honourable employments, and deprived of all means of serving their country. Nevertheless, their rights and privileges have been confirmed to them by many ordinances of the kingdom, settled by so many treaties, supported on foundations so sacred and so evident to the eyes of all nations, that the undersigned minister of a monarch who preserves towards the republic the sincerest sentiments of friendship, and of inclination to give proofs of them on every occasion, flatters himself, that the mediation of the king his master will produce the effects which he may naturally promise himself; that the wisdom of the nation assembled will afford a remedy to the evils which rend the state, and oppres the Dissidents; and that, with regard to things ecclesiastical and civil, they may be re-established in the situation they were in before the treaty of Oliva. As to the rest, the sincere wishes of his britannic majesty for the glory of the king of Poland, and for the prosperity of the republic, are so notorious, that it would be useless to give fresh assurances of them. In the meanwhile, the undersigned cannot avoid reiterating them, as an incontestable proof of their reality.

(Signed)

WROUGHTON.

No. VI.

COPY of a LETTER of her IMPERIAL MAJESTY of all the RUSSIAS, to his Excellency Count VLADIMIR ORLOFF, Director of the Academy of Sciences at PETERSBURG.

MONS. COUNT ORLOFF,

HAVING been informed, that in the summer of the year 1769, the planet Venus will pass over the sun, I write you this letter, that you may acquaint the academy of sciences on my part, 1. That it is my pleasure that the academy should procure the observations to be made with the utmost care; and that I desire, in consequence, to know, 2. which are the most advantageously situated places of the empire that the academy has destined for this observation; to the end that, in case it should be necessary to erect any buildings, workmen, &c. may be sent, and proper measures be taken. 3. That if there be not a sufficient number of astronomers in the academy for completing the observations in the places pitched upon by the academy, I propose, and take upon me to find out, among my marine subjects, such as, during the interval between the present time and the transit of Venus, may be perfected in the habit of observing under the eyes of the professors, so as to be employed to advantage in this expedition, and to the satisfaction of the academy. You will, Mr. Count, transmit me the answer of the academy, with its full opinion about every thing above, that I may give orders for the whole without loss of time.

CATHARINE.

Mosco, 3 March 1767.

Copy

COPY of a LETTER from M. RAMOFFSKY of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at PETERSBURG, to Mr. SHORT of the Royal Society of LONDON.

SIR,

I EXPECTED your letter impatiently, and received it the 1st of October. We were somewhat in doubt as to our answering the views of our sovereign, till the arrival of your letter, which dissipated our uneasiness in respect of the instruments. Judge yourself, sir, how satisfactory it was to us to understand that you would take upon you to procure us the necessary instruments, and, moreover, to give us your advice how to proceed successfully in this important observation.

I thank you, sir, in the name of the academy, and on my account especially, hoping a more favourable occasion of testifying my obligations. At present, I refer to your judgment the measures the academy has taken with relation to the transit of Venus.

Pursuant to her imperial majesty's orders, in a letter to his excellency count Vladimir Orloff, director of the academy, the copy whereof I herewith send you; the academy having represented, that the properest places in the russian empire for the observation of the duration of the transit, are Kola, and the parts near it, and for the exit, the borders of the caspian sea, has beseeched her majesty to be pleased to send two observers to the north, and two to the Caspian. The stations named by the academy are Kola, Solowetskoi monastir, Astrakhan, and Orenburg. The empress, in accordance to the representations of the academy, apprehensive of the precarious state of the weather, at the end of May, at Kola and thereabouts, has been pleased to distribute four other observers among those quarters. The academy, availing itself of the high protection her imperial majesty has deigned to extend to this enterprise, has deter-

mined one to Yakoutsk, where the duration will not be
 $\frac{7}{2}$ less than at Kola, Torneao, and Cajaneburg.

Mr. Wargentin has informed me, that Mr. Mallet of Upsilon is preparing for Torneao, and Mr. Planmann for his former Cajaneburg; so that this country will be so secure in such a multiplicity of observers, that it may be well hoped, that some station or other will not fail of affording a complete observation of this phænomenon.

St. Petersburg, 23 October 1767.

No. VII.

MANIFESTO of the GRAND SIGNIOR, concerning the War declared by his HIGHNESS against the EMPRESS of RUSSIA, delivered the 30th of October 1767, to the FOREIGN MINISTERS residing at CONSTANTINOPLE.

IT may clearly be seen by what follows, that the Sublime Porte has strictly observed the articles of the peace established between this empire and the court of Russia, who, on the contrary, has infringed them in many instances.

The court of Russia, against the faith of treaties, has not desisted from building various fortresses on the frontiers of the two states, and has provided them with troops and ammunition.

In the year 1177 (or 1763), on the death of Augustus the third, king of Poland, the republic of Poland, intending, according to the system of the polish liberty, to proceed to the election of a king, the court of Russia set up for a king a private polish officer, in whose family there had never been any king, and to whom loyalty was not becoming; and has, by siding with this king, intruded on and traversed,

traversed, against the will of the republic, all the affairs of the Poles. The Porte having given notice of this to the russian resident, he declared that the republic of Poland having required a certain number of troops to protect its own liberty, 6000 horse and 1000 kosaks were granted for that purpose, who had neither cannon nor ammunition with them, and were to be under the command of the republic, and that there was not a single russian soldier above that number in Poland. Yet, when he was asked, some time after, why the court of Russia had sent more troops into Poland, and why violence had been used on the election of Poniatofsky, son of one of the grandees of Poland, the said resident assured, by a writing signed with his hand, that his court had not declared for any person, nor had ever made use of violent means for the election of any one whatsoever. Notwithstanding this assurance and declaration, the court of Russia has been continually sending troops, cannon, and ammunition, under the command of its own generals, who continued to attack the polish liberty, and put to death those who refused to submit to the person that themselves had not elected for their king, and who was not the son of a king ; stripping them, with clamour and violence, of their goods and estates. Such a conduct being productive of confusion in the good order of the Sublime Porte, he was given to understand that, according to the tenor of the articles of the old and new imperial capitulations, the court of Russia must order her troops to evacuate Poland ; this the said resident promised by several memorials signed ; but this promise has not been fulfilled. In the mean time, the Sublime Porte received advice, that some russian troops had been sent to Balta, (one of the mussulman frontiers,) with some artillery, and had unexpectedly attacked the mussulmans, and massacred upwards of a thousand persons, men, women, and children.

The Sublime Porte, having again demanded satisfaction from the court of Russia for this outrage, which, against the tenor of treaties, had been committed with artillery ; and

and the khan of Krimica having also demanded satisfaction for the same, the said court denied the fact, alleging that the Haydams had done some damage, but that care would be taken to punish them ; although it is notorious that the Haydams never make use of cannon nor bombs in their irruptions. The Sublime Porte, notwithstanding, still persisted in requiring satisfaction for such a conduct, and still demanded the reason why the court of Russia would not, these three years past, withdraw its troops from Poland, since the articles of the treaty, concluded in 1133 (1719), and that of 1152 (1738), stipulate, " That as often as any event shall happen, capable of disturbing the perpetual peace of the two empires, they should proceed *ipso facto* to the means of terminating them in an amicable manner ; " nevertheless the outrages and devastations at Balta have been denied, and the punishment of those who had the boldness to be guilty of them, has been postponed and even neglected. The silence itself of the Russian resident, who having been invited to come to the Porte to answer for this proceeding, and to declare what his court meant by still keeping its troops in Poland, proves the infraction of the treaty. At last he was asked definitively, whether, according to the ancient and new treaties, which subsist between the two empires, the court of Russia would desist from meddling with the affairs of Poland, under pretence of guarantee and promise : he replied, that his full power was limited, and that he could not answer thereupon, since that article was known to his court only. Such a behaviour plainly demonstrates that the above-mentioned power thinks proper to take upon itself the infraction of treaties ; therefore it is, that the illustrious doctors of the law have given by *fetras* (or legal sentences) their answers, that, " according to the exigency of justice, it was necessary to make war against the Muscovites :" an opinion that has been unanimously confirmed. Thus the arrest of the said resident being become necessary, we give by these presents notice to all the powers of Europe, that the said resident shall be guarded

guarded in the castle of the Seven Towers ; and that, during the whole time that this transaction has lasted, the Sublime Porte has done nothing that might break the friendship, nor any thing contrary to the articles of the treaties concluded between the two empires, &c.

*The DECLARATION of the IMPERIAL COURT of RUSSIA to
the COURTS of EUROPE, upon the Arrest of its Minister
resident at CONSTANTINOPLE.*

HER imperial majesty, in taking a part in the transactions of the republic of Poland, as humanity on one side, and the obligations of her crown on the other, had prompted her, was no less careful to conduct herself in such a manner as not to give any umbrage to a jealous and powerful neighbour : every part of her conduct was public ; and she had likewise a particular attention to communicate in confidence to the ottoman Porte her resolutions upon every step she took, and the conduct she intended to observe, till the peace and tranquillity of that kingdom was entirely re-established. But the enemies to the peace of these two empires were not wanting to blacken at the Porte all the actions of her imperial majesty, and to sow there the seeds of discord by the most false imputations. The Porte, restrained by the upright conduct the court of Russia continued to maintain towards them, listened, but it was with caution, to the calumny that was spread. Some attention to the affairs of Poland, and an impartial examination of what Russia had done, compared with the overtures made by that court at the Porte, had dispelled all suspicion, and the public tranquillity seemed to be no more threatened. The common enemies, however, repeated their insinuations with more rage and audacity than ever, to impose upon the credulity of the turkish nation, and infused a spirit of discontent among them, which called for the notice of government ; for it had

had forced its way even into the seraglio. The change in the ministry, brought about by these events, soon produced a revolution in the system of peace, equally dear to both nations. The new vizir, upon his advancement, immediately sent for Mr. Obreskoi, her imperial majesty's resident at the Porte, and, after having caused to be read in his presence a declaration full of heavy charges against his court, part of which have already been invalidated by the most fair and candid explanations, and others that had never existed, or were ever thought of, the vizir pressed him to sign immediately, under the guarantee of the allies of his sovereign, some very offensive conditions, in regard to which there never had been made the least proposal during the whole course of the operations in Poland. These conditions, very derogatory to the honour and glory of an empres accustomed to receive no law, proposed in a tone and form repugnant to the freedom of negotiation adopted by every power, were attended with the alternative of an immediate rupture of the perpetual peace between the two empires. The russian minister, confident of the upright intentions of his court, and conscious of the probity of his own conduct, as having fulfilled the duties of a long ministry, was incapable of unworthily degrading his court and his own character by a humiliating engagement, and which would have exceeded the power and commission of any minister, let them be ever so extensive ; he gave therefore a positive refusal, as became his honour and his duty ; and the resolution of the divan, which followed immediately after, was to arrest him, and part of his retinue, and carry him to the castle of the Seven Towers. It would be needless for the imperial court of Russia to dwell any longer upon this event, or to enter here into an examination of it. The fact speaks for itself. The honour and glory of her imperial majesty—the regard to her empire, point out the part it is right for her to take. Confiding in the justice of her cause, she appeals to all christian courts on the situation

situation she finds herself in with regard to the common enemy of christianity, certain as she is, that her conduct will meet with equal approbation from each of them, and that she shall have the advantage to join to the divine protection the just assistance of her friends, and the good wishes of all Christendom.

No. VIII.

A LETTER from M. DE VOLTAIRE, to the RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR at PARIS.

I SEE by the letters which her imperial majesty and your excellency honour me with, how greatly your nation is rising, while I am afraid that, in some respects, ours is beginning to degenerate. The empress deigns herself to translate that chapter of Belisarius, which some college-fellows traduce at Paris. We should be overwhelmed with shame and scorn, if all the men of worth, of whom there is a great number in France, did not strongly stand up against the egregious scandal of the times. Folly, ignorance, and envy, there will always be in any country; but then there will also be in it science and good taste. I dare even aver to you that, in general, our principal military, and, as to what concerns the counsel, our counsellors of state, and the masters of requests, are more enlightened than they were in the shining age of Lewis the fourteenth. Great talents are still rare; but science and reason are more common than they.

I see with pleasure that there is forming in Europe an immense republic of cultivated understandings. The light diffuses and communicates itself on all sides. I have things come to me from the north that astonish me. Within these last

In the last fifteen years there has been operated a revolution in the human understanding, that will form a great epoch. The outcries of the pedants proclaim the approach of this great change, as the croaking of the crows forebodes fair weather.

I know nothing of the book of M. de la Riviere, which you do me the honour of mentioning to me; but can hardly believe that the author, while avoiding the faults into which M. de Montefquieu may have fallen, has gone beyond him in those points in which that shining genius is in the right. I shall send for his book; and in the meanwhile congratulate the author on his being so near such a sovereign and empress, who patronizes all the talents in foreigners, and whose maternal care gives birth to them in her own dominions. But it is you whom I especially congratulate on representing her so worthily at Paris.

I have the honour to be, &c.

No. IX.

COUNTER-DECLARATION of the COURT of WARSAW.

THE underwritten ministers of the king and republic of Poland, having laid before his majesty the declarations given in on the 18th and 26th of September, by the ministers from the courts of Vienna, Petersburg, and Berlin; and his majesty having taken the advice of his senate thereupon, the underwritten are commanded to make the following answer thereto:

The disinterested and successful pains of her majesty the empress of all the Russias, to preserve tranquillity in Poland during the last interregnum, and promote the free election of the reigning king, universally recognized; the concurrence

rence of the king of Prussia in the same designs ; and the system of neutrality at that time adopted by the empress-queen ; are circumstances which, appreciated as they ought to be by the king, will never be effaced from his memory or heart.

The king is happy in seeing the regulations and internal establishments of the diets, immediately succeeding the death of Augustus III. declared “useful and salutary” by the three powers : he would ever wish the emanations of the sovereign power of the republic to be regarded with a favourable eye by all his neighbours.

All Europe is long since informed of the original and successive causes of the present troubles in Poland : all Europe knows, that the king, and the fondest part of the nation, exerted their utmost endeavours to prevent the rise and stop the progress of them ; unfortunately these efforts have been unsuccessful ; and certainly the consequences have been dreadful. The supreme and legal authority of the state has been denied by some ; anarchy has spread itself over the provinces ; all Poland has been impoverished, ravaged, trodden under foot, as well by her own citizens, as by foreign troops : she has felt, and all Europe has seen, those sufferings proportioned to the length of time these troops have been in the country, the orders of their respective courts, and the manner in which their orders have been put in execution.

In a word, five years of scourge and desolation have ruined this country, and make the return of peace a matter of urgent and indispensable necessity.

The engagements entered into by the three powers, to co-operate in effectuating this great work, appeared, therefore, full of humanity, and would have been regarded by the king with the liveliest gratitude, if the latter part of their declaration had left room for any sentiment but those of the utmost surprise and the most profound grief.

These courts pretend considerable claims on the unhappy Poland : a plan of indemnification, the actual and effectual seizure of equivalents, are avowed.

The strict attention of the king and republic to fulfil all their engagements with these powers ; the laws of good neighbourhood so religiously observed by Poland ; the manner, so friendly and full of regard, in which the king has represented, on so many occasions, the different subjects of complaint he had unfortunately had against his neighbours ; the present situation of Poland, so worthy in all respects of the compassion of generous and sensible minds ; all should have secured to him the return of mutual good-will, and protected him for ever from enterprises so injurious to his rights and the legality of his possessions.

The rights of the republic to all her provinces have every possible mark of solidity and authenticity ; an uninterrupted possession of many ages, avowed and maintained by the most solemn treaties, and particularly by those of Velaw and Oliva, guaranteed by the house of Austria, by the crowns of France, England, Spain, and Sweden ; by the treaty of 1686, with Russia ; by the express and recent declarations of this last power ; by those of Prussia in 1764 ; and lastly, by treaties with the house of Austria, still in full force and vigour ; on these foundations the rights of the republic are grounded.

The court of Warsaw contents itself with barely pointing them out at present, reserving the right of supporting them by proofs more ample and particular in time and place.

What titles can the three powers oppose to these ? If they are titles dug out of the obscurity of ancient times, of those times of sudden and momentary revolutions, which erected and destroyed, ceded and restored states in the short space of a few months or years ; these titles, if admitted, would re-unite to the kingdom of Poland many provinces which formerly belonged to it, but have for many years

been occupied by the very powers who now form pretensions on her.

But as it is undeniable, that not only transactions buried in the oblivion of distant ages, but all transactions whatever, are annihilated by subsequent stipulations; as all the latter stipulations between Poland and her neighbours oppose directly the partition they now would make, it follows, that the titles on which that partition is founded, cannot be admitted, without undermining the rights of every state, without shaking every throne from its foundation.

The very powers who declare that the situation of Poland will not permit them to obtain justice in the ordinary ways of proceedings, cannot be ignorant that its present situation is accidental and momentary; that it is in their own power to change it. Their consent alone is wanting to restore the republic to the free and lawful exercise of its independent sovereignty. That would be time to produce, and examine their claims. This is the method of proceeding which the king had a right to demand from the equity of the three courts, which he could not but expect to be adopted, relying on the letter written to him by the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, on the 28th of January 1771.

But the present proceedings of the three courts, giving the most serious object of complaint to the king; and the duties of his crown not permitting him to be silent on this occasion, he declares in the most solemn manner, that he looks upon the actual seizure of the provinces of Poland by the courts of Vienna, Petersburg, and Berlin, as unjust, violent, and contrary to his lawful rights; he appeals to the treaties and powers guarantees of his kingdom and its appurtenances. And lastly, full of confidence in the justice of the Almighty, he lays his rights at the feet of the eternal throne, and puts his cause into the hands of the King of kings, the supreme judge of nations: and, in the full assurance of his succour, he protests solemnly, and

before the whole universe, against every step taken, or to be taken, towards the dismembering of Poland.

Given at Warsaw, Oct. 17th, 1772.

Signed by the great chancellors of Poland and Lithuania.

DECLARATION of the IMPERIAL MINISTER at the COURT of WARSAW.

HER majesty the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia has seen, with unspeakable astonishment, the little impression made by the declaration presented to his polish majesty by the underwritten, and the ministers from Petersburg and Berlin, in order to accelerate a definitive arrangement between the republic and the three neighbouring powers, touching the pretensions formed by the said powers on Poland ; pretensions which the essential interests of their crowns will not permit them to expose to the hazard of future contingencies, and of those troubles with which Poland has at all times been agitated.

The justice and dignity of the three courts prescribe bounds to their moderation : this truth can neither escape the discernment of his polish majesty, nor be indifferent to his heart, if the cries of his country have preserved their influence there.

Her majesty the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia hopes, therefore, that the king will not expose his kingdom to events which must be the consequences of his delay to assemble a diet, and enter on a negotiation, which alone can save his country, restore vigour to the constitution of the republic, which has received so many and so dangerous shocks ; and terminate the evils to which private interest, ambition, hatred, and dissentions, have given rise.

Done at Warsaw, Dec. 4th, 1772.

(Signed) RZEWICKI.

Note.—The ministers from Petersburg and Berlin delivered the next day each a declaration in the same words.

*ANSWER of the COURT of WARSAW to the preceding
Piece.*

IN answer to the declarations of the courts of Vienna, Petersburg, and Berlin, the underwritten have orders to inform the ministers of the said courts, that the king, being informed of their desires respecting the convocation of a diet, and of the inconveniences which may arise from delays, is determined to comply, as far as it is in his power, not only with the view of taking away all pretext of aggravating the evils which afflict Poland, but under the hopes that this mark of regard will operate on the generosity of the three powers, so as to induce them to put a speedy end to these troubles, in a manner the most equitable and advantageous to the republic.

In consequence hereof, his majesty has issued circular letters for the convocation of a full council of the senate, which must indispensably precede the summoning of a diet; and has fixed the same to the 8th of February following; a term which leaves no more than the time absolutely necessary for the arrival of the distant senators.

Done at Warsaw, this 14th of December 1772.

Signed by the chancellors of Poland and Lithuania.

No. X.

*EXTRACT of a LETTER from CATHARINE II. late EMPRESS
of RUSSIA, to M. DE VOLTAIRE.*

SIR,

THE brightness of the northern star is a mere aurora borealis. It is nothing more than giving to a neighbour

something of our own superfluity. But to be the advocate of human kind, the defender of oppressed innocence ; by this you will be indeed immortalized. The two causes of Calas and Sirven have procured you the veneration due to such miracles. You have combated the united enemies of mankind, superstition, fanaticism, ignorance, chicane, bad judges, and the power lodged in them all together. To surmount such obstacles required both talents and virtue. You have shewn the world that you possess both. You have carried your point. You desire, sir, some relief for the Sirven family. Can I possibly refuse it? Or, should you praise me for the action, would there be the least foundation for it? I own to you, that I should be much better pleased if my bill of exchange could pass unknown. Nevertheless, if you think my name, unharmonious as it is, may be of any service to those victims of the spirit of persecution, I leave it to your discretion ; and you may announce me, provided it be no way prejudicial to the parties.

No. XI.

ALPHABETICAL LIST of the TOWNS of the RUSSIAN EMPIRE, shewing in what Government they lie, and how many Versts distant from the Residence, from the Metropolis, and from their respective Government Towns, as far as could be collected from the Accounts delivered to CATHARINE II.

The names of the government towns are distinguished by *italics*.

Towns.	In what government.	Versts from St. Peterb.	Versts from Mosc.	Versts from government-town.
Aktyrka	Kharkoff	1453	723	106
Aklańsk	Irkutsk	10497	9767	4674
Alapayefsk	Perme			510
Alatyr	Simbirsk	1358	618	133
Alexandriya	Ekatarinoslavl			184
Alexandrof	Vladimir	824	101	117
Alexandrofsk	Caucasus			150
Alexin	Tula	860	130	60
Alexopol	Ekatarinoslavl			115
<i>Archangel</i>		1145	1236	
Ardatoff	Nishnè-Novgorod			150
Ardatoff on Alatyr	Simbirsk	1337	597	148
Arensberg	Riga	626	1356	319
Arsamas	Nishnè-Novgorod	1120	380	109
Arsk	Kafan	1463	735	55
Asoft	Ekatarinoslavl	1998	1268	625
Astrakhan	Caucasus	2142	1412	630
Atkar-sk	Saratoff	1630	902	79
Atschinsk	Tchobolsk	4694	3964	1809
Babinovitschi	Mohileff			111
Bachmut	Ekatarinoslavl	1490	760	368
Balachna	Nishnè-Novgorod	1145	415	32
Balaschoff	Saratoff			244
Baltic port	Reval	394	1122	44
Bargufinsk	Irkutsk	6345	5617	524
Belebey	Ufa			139
Beresin	Tschernigoff			36

Towns.	In what government.	Versts from St. Petersb.	Versts from Moscow.	Versts from government-town.
Berehoff	Tobolsk	3814	3084	929
Bieleff	Tula	973	239	120
Bielgorod	Kursk	1356	626	132
Bielitz	Mohileff			194
Bieloy	Smolensk	709	410	143
Bielopolye	Kharkoff	1585	857	217
Bieloferlk	Novgorod	569	540	532
Bielovodsk	Voronetsch	1545	803	307
Biezvesk	Tver	625	287	121
Biisk	Kolhyvan			260
Biryutsch	Voronetsch	1357	617	150
Birsk	Ufa	1927	1197	105
Bobroff	Voronetsch	1265	535	87
Bogatyre	Kujsk	1330	600	106
Bogodukhoff	Kharkoff	1471	741	60
Bogoroditzk	Tula	957	227	45
Bogorodsk	Mosco			50
Bogutschar	Voronetsch	1475	735	238
Bolkhoff	Orel	1020	290	54
Borisoglebsk	Yaroslavl	*	†	32
Borisoglebsk on the Vorona	Tamboff	1359	629	152
Borovitschi	Novgorod	360	454	183
Borofsk	Kaluga	893	163	78
Borsna	Tchernigoff	1396	666	90
Briansk	Orel	1077	347	138
Bronnitz	Mosco	781	51	
Bugulma	Ufa	1687	957	220
Buguruslan	Ufa			279
Bui	Kostroma	932	396	130
Buinsk	Simbirsk	1462	722	70
Busuluk	Ufa			375
Cronstadt	St. Petersburg	47	777	
Dalmatoff	Perme			510
Daniloff	Yaroslavl	810	316	63
Dankoff	Riazane	950	220	158
Deschkin	Orel	1060	330	58
St. Dmitri fort	Ekatarinoslav	1968	1238	595
Dmitriyef	Kursk	1241	511	99

* By the way of Uglitsch 814, by the way of Poschek 797.

† By the way of Yaroslavl and Rost. 273, by the way of Poschek 265.

Dmitroff

Towns.	In what government.	Verfts from St. Peterbf.	Verfts from Mbfico.	Verfts from government- town.
Dmitroff	Mosco	702	62	
Dmitrofsk	Orel	1181	451	84
Dnieprofsk	Tavrida			300
Donetzk	Ekatarinoslavl			443
Dorogobush	Smolensk	793	298	86
Doroninsk	Irkutsk	6644	5964	871
Dorpat	Riga.	319	1049	230
Driezin	Polotsk	691	697	68
Dukhofshina	Smolensk	727	363	51
Dynaburg	Polotsk	794	800	173
Ekatarinenburg	Perme	2308	1578	358
<i>Ekatarinofslaf</i>		1596	868	
Elizabethgrad	Ekatarinoslavl	1759	1411	211
Epiphan	Tula	962	232	59
Eupatoria	Tavrida			60
Fatesch	Kursk	1193	463	46
Fellin	Riga			241
Frederiksham	Vyburg	326	1056	186
Gadyatch	Tchernigoff	*	†	254
Galitch	Kostroma	919	396	117
Gdoff	St. Petersburg	216	871	
Georgiefsk	Caucasus	2528	1800	60
Glafoff	Viatka			214
Glinsk	Tchernigoff			210
Glukhoff	Novgorod Sieverskoi	1280	550	
Goltva	Kief			283
Gordatoff	Nishnè-Novgorod			70
Gorodetz	Polotzk	698	553	144
Gorodischtche	Penfa			42
Gorodnia	Tchernigoff			50
Gorokovetch	Vladimir	1039	332	157
Gradischtche	Ekatarinoslavl			136
Griafovetch	Vologda	709	384	42
Giafk	Smolensk	581	160	222
Habsal	Reval	456	1126	95
Insara	Penfa	1290	560	89
Irbit	Perme	2683	1953	572
<i>Irkutsk</i>		5823	5093	
Ischim	Tobolsk	2935	2205	344

* Via Mtzensk and Kursk — —

† Via Smolensk and Baturin — —

Towns.	In what government.	Verfts from St. Peterb.	Verfts from Mosco.	Verfts from government-town.
Ischiginisk	Irkutsk	10307	9577	4484
Isium	Kharkoff	1550	820	111
Kadnikoff	Vologda	695	468	42
Kadyi	Kostroma	950	427	147
Kaigorod	Viatka	1972	1242	246
Kainsk	Tobolsk	3788	3058	903
Kaliasin	Tver	734	294	168
Kalitva	Voronetsh	1421	681	193
Kaluga		890	160	
Kamyschin	Saratoff	1806	1076	174
Kamyschloff	Perme			483
Kanadyei	Simbirsk	1537	797	131
Karatscheff	Orel	1102	372	84
Kargopol	Olonetz	618	1078	342
Karfun	Simbirsk	1423	683	91
Kasan		1465	735	
Kaschin	Tver	716	312	150
Kasimoff	Riasane	1010	280	140
Kem	Olonetz	885	1479	455
Kerenesk	Pensa	1199	460	135
Kexholm	Viborg	146	876	130
Kharkoff		1421	680	
Kherfon	Ekatarinoslavl	*	†	290
Kholm	Pleskoff	336	592	268
Khopersk	Saratoff	1419	689	
Khorol	Kief			223
Khotmyshlk	Kharkoff	1455	725	71
Khvalynsk	Saratoff			197
Kieff		1582	852	
Kinburn fort	Tavrida	2091	1361	
Kineschma	Kostroma	885	347	83
Kirensk	Irkutsk	6768	6038	945
Kiriloff	Novgorod	590	495	580
Kirfanoff	Tamboff	1295	565	88
Kirshatsh	Vladimir	850	123	115
Kisliar	Caucasus	2642	1912	
Klimovitschi	Mohileff			128
Klin	Mosco	648	82	
Kniaginin	Nishnè-Novgorod			96
* Via Mtzenesk, Kursk, and Krementshuk —		1903	1174	
† Via Smolensk, Baturin, Polt. and Krementshuk		2141	1411	

* Via Mtzenesk, Kursk, and Krementshuk —

† Via Smolensk, Baturin, Polt. and Krementshuk

Towns.	In what government.	Verfts from St. Petersb.	Verfts from Moſco.	Verfts from government- town.
Kola	Archangel	1379	2109	1021
Kolmogory	Archangel			
Kologriff	Koſtroma	968	534	254
Kolomna	Mosco	830	100	
Kolyvan		5154	4424	
Konotop	Novgorod Sieverskoi	1345	615	115
Konstantinograd	Ekatarinoslav	973	864	104
Kopyfs	Mohilef			49
Korop	Novgorod Sieverskoi			70
Korotoyak	Voronetch	1313	573	80
Korotscha	Kurſk	1359	629	135
Kortscheva	Tver			82
Koschira	Tula	900	170	80
Koseletz	Kieff	1510	780	72
Koselsk	Kaluga	940	210	57
Kosloff	Tamboff	1155	425	72
Koſtroma		802	280	
Kotelnitsch	Viatka	1811	1081	95
Kotiakoff	Simbirſk	1404	664	110
Kovroff	Vladimir	964	237	62
Krafnoborsk	Vologda	1100	1006	580
Krafnoy	Smolensk	823	430	46
Krafnoi-Kholm	Tver	586	326	161
Krafnoi-Yar	Aſtrakhan	2112	1382	30
Krafnoyarsk	Kolyvan	4839	4109	1981
Krafnokutsk	Kharkoff	1508	767	86
Krafnoslobodsk	Penſa	1564	834	173
Krafnousimsk	Perme	2077	1347	188
Krefdzi	Novgorod	279	451	93
Krolevetch	Novgorod Sieverskoi	1319	589	64
Kromy	Orel	1133	403	36
Kropivna	Tula	952	222	40
Kungur	Perme	2051	1323	91
Kupensk	Voronetch	1663	923	283
Kurgan	Tobolsk	2875	2145	414
Kurmysch	Simbirſk	1237	500	257
Kurſk		1224	494	
Kuſmodemyansk	Kafan	1294	564	181
Kusnetzk	Kolyvan	4737	4007	
Kusnetzk	Saratoff			
Ladoga	St. Peterburg	150	744	197
Laischeff	Kafan			51

Towns.	In what government.	Verfts from St. Peterfb.	Verfts from Mosco.	Verfts from government- town.
Lalsk	Vologda	1110	981	555
Lebedyan	Tamboff	1104	374	177
Lebedin	Kharkoff	1540	810	147
Levkopol	Tavrida			80
Lgoff	Kurfsk	1295	565	71
Lichvin	Kaluga	940	210	45
Lipetzk	Tamboff	1162	432	149
Linbim	Yaroslavl	826	354	101
Liutzin	Polotzk	593	758	164
Livensk	Voronetch	1403	654	175
Livny	Orel	1090	360	128
Lochvitza	Tschernigoff	1462	732	210
Lodeinoë Pole	Olonetz	276	809	215
Lubney	Kieff	1505	775	190
Luch	Kostroma	913	347	129
Luga	St. Petersburg	135	614	
Lukoyanoff	Nishnè-Novgorod			158
Makarieff	Nishnè-Novgorod			80
Makarieff	Kostroma	98	474	195
Malmysh	Viatka			249
Maloarchangel	Orel	1143	413	70
Maloyaroslavl	Kaluga	847	113	52
Mamadysh	Kasan			146
Mariupol	Ekatarinoslav			321
Medynsk	Kaluga	869	135	57
Melenki	Vladimir	1040	313	138
Melitopol	Tavrida			220
Menselinsk	Ufa	1769	1035	236
Meschtschofsk	Kaluga	980	250	69
Mesen	Archangel	1445	1575	511
Mglinsk	Novgorod Sieverskoi			141
Michailoff	Riazane	910	180	50
Mirgorod	Kieff	1784	1054	233
Miropolie	Kharkoff	1515	785	133
Mobileff		751	534	
Mokschan	Penfa	1368	638	37
Mologa	Yaroslavl	740	260	110
Morschansk	Tamboff	1156	426	88
Mosalsk	Kaluga	940	210	77
Mosdok	Caucasus		243	34
Moshaisk	Mosco	816	99	
MOSCO	Metropolis	728		

Towns.	In what government.	Verfts from St. Peterb.	Verfts from Mosco.	Verfts from government-town.
Mstislavl	Mohilef	914	501	94
Murom	Vladimir	1022	295	120
Myschkin	Yaroslavl	763	209	92
Mzenšk	Orel	1044	314	53
Nakhitschevan	Ekatarinofslavl			
Nagaibak	Orenburg	1733	1003	540
Naroftschat	Penza	1356	626	125
Narva	St. Petersburg	145	875	
Narym	Tobolsk	4644	3934	1759
Nedrigailof	Kharkoff	1574	844	195
Nerechta	Kostroma	846	236	43
Nertschinsk	Irkutsk	6784	6054	961
Neyshlott	Viburg	390	1120	250
Nevel	Polotzk	1338	618	99
Nieshin	Tschernigoff	1444	714	74
Nikitisk	Mosco		31	
Nikolsk	Vologda	1164	1061	637
Nishnaia Dievitza	Voronetch	1284	544	57
Nishnè Kamtschatka	Irkutsk	11699	10969	5876
Nishnè Lomoff	Penza	1339	609	96
Nishnè Novgorod		1120	390	
Nishneudinsk	Irkutsk	5348	4618	475
Nolin	Viatka			112
Novgorod		186	544	
Novgorod Sieverskoi		*	†	
Novomiesto	Novgorod Sieverskoi			144
Novomirgorod	Ekatarinofslavl			288
Novomoškofsk	Ekatarinofslavl			18
Novorosheff	Pleskoff	478	853	132
Novosil	Tula	1292	458	176
Oboian	Kursk	1283	553	59
Obvinsk	Perme			50
Odoyef	Tula	940	210	70
Okhansk	Perme			67
Okhotsk	Irkutsk	9259	8529	3436
Olekminsk	Irkutsk	7754	7024	1931
Olenisk	Irkutsk	9309	8579	3496
Olonetz	Olonetz	280	874	150
Omsk	Tobolsk	3286	2556	693

* By Star. and Smolensk

† By Tula and Mosco

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1150

540

598

Onega

Towns.	In what government.	Verfs from St. Peterß.	Verfs from Moico.	Verfs from government town.
Onega	Archangel	900	1560	232
Opotscha	Pleskoff	491	727	137
Oranienbaum	St. Petersburg	40	768	
Oranienburg	Riazane	1093	363	170
Orel		1097	367	
Orenburg	Ufa	1984	1254	319
Orloff	Viatka	1663	933	51
Orscha	Mohileff	685	466	66
Osa	Perme	2020	1290	113
Oskol, old	Kursk	1309	579	130
Oskol, new	Kursk	1379	639	191
Ostaschkoff	Tver	426	347	183
Oster	Kieff	1532	802	89
Ostrogorsk	Voronetch	1326	588	95
Ostroff	Pleskoff	425	800	56
Pavlograd	Ekatarinoslavl			202
Pavlofsk	Voronetch	1380	640	150
Penza		1394	660	
Pereyaßavl	Kieff	1533	823	78
Perekop	Tavrida			140
Peremyschl	Kaluga	925	195	28
Pereßlavl Riaz.		910	180	
Pereßlavl Saliesk	Vladimir	750	125	120
Perevolotschna	Novgorod	2002	1272	50
Perevos	Nishnè Novgorod			90
Perme		1949	1219	
Pernau	Riga	479	1190	72
Petropavlofskoi	Irkutsk	10648	9918	4620
Petrozavodsk	Olonetz	430	1024	
Petrofsk	Yaroslavl	819	167	76
Petrofsk	Saratoff	1490	760	105
Petschory	Pleskoff		807	54
Phanagoria	Tavrida			240
Pinega	Archangel	1245	1288	210
Piriatin	Kieff	1480	750	161
Ples	Kostroma	856	295	54
Pleßkoff		*	717	
Podol	Mosco	765	35	
Pogar	Novgorod Sieverskoi	1400	670	64
Pokroff	Vladimir	824	97	78
* By way of Narva		—	346	
By way of Luga		—	326	

Towns.	In what government.	Verfts from St. Petersb.	Verfts from Mosco.	Verfts from government- towns.
Polotzk		643	1373	
Poltava	Ekatarinofslavl	1535	805	171
Porkhof	Pleskoff	336	694	85
Porietschy	Smolensk	752	430	73
Poschekonia	Yaroslavl	718	314	112
Potschinki	Nishnè Novgorod			212
Povienetz	Olonetz	595	1189	765
Priluky	Tschernigoff	1453	723	
Pronsk	Riazane	950	220	50
Pudash	Olonetz	516	996	240
Putevl	Kursk	1404	674	100
Resitza	Polotzk	619	784	190
Reval		340	1070	
Riafsk	Riazane	1000	270	
Riga		552	1053	
Rogatshoff	Mohileff	1396	636	102
Romanoff	Yaroslavl	796	266	34
Romen	Tschernigoff	1412	682	194
Roshestvensk	St. Petersburg	79		
Roslavl	Smolensk	880	443	116
Rostoff	Yaroslavl	806	189	54
Rsheff	Tver	631	300	127
Rusa	Mosco	759	88	
Rybnoi	Yaroslavl	806	252	78
Rylsk	Kursk	1340	610	116
Sadonsk	Voronetch	1130	400	85
Samara	Simbirsk	1633	893	177
Sr. PETERSBURG	Residence		728	
Saposhok	Riazane	1030	300	120
Saraisk	Riazane	860	130	56
Saransk	Pensa	1276	546	123
Sarapul	Viatka	1812	1082	380
Saratoff		1632	902	
Safchiverfk	Irkutsk	9192	8462	3369
Schadrinsk	Perme	2488	1758	556
Schatzk	Tamboff	1090	360	157
Schenkursk	Archangel	800	848	388
Scheschkeyef	Pensa	1306	576	144
Schlusselburg	St. Petersburg	60	790	
Schtchigry	Kursk	1290	478	50
Schuya	Vladimir	969	239	90
Sebezh	Polotzk	533	718	104
				Selenginsk

Towns.	In what government.	Verfts from St. Peterb.	Verfts from Mosco.	Verfts from government- town.
Selenginsk	Irkutsk	6226	5496	403
Semeonoff	Nishnè Novgorod			60
Semipalatisk	Kolyvan	2992	2262	
Semlianisk	Voronetch	1204	464	40
Serdob	Saratoff			175
Serdobel	Viburg			238
Sergatsch	Nishnè Novgorod			138
Sergiefsk	Ufa			350
Serpeisk	Kaluga	980	250	82
Serpukhof	Mosco	818	88	
Sevastopol	Tavrida			
Shiganisk	Irkutsk	9125	8395	3302
Shisdra	Kaluga	1054	320	156
Sienkof	Tschernigoff			286
Siennoi	Mohilef			151
Sievsk	Orel	1242	512	145
Simbirsk		1485	745	
Simpheropol	Tavrida	2187	1459	
Singileyef	Simbirsk	1519	779	49
Skopin	Riazane	1026	296	88
Slavianisk	Ekatarinoslav	1440	710	200
Slobodskoy	Viatka	1740	1010	28
Smolensk		716	384	
Solgalitzkaia	Kostroma	799	502	223
Solikamsk	Perme	2227	1497	263
Solotonoscha	Kieff			130
Solotschef	Kharkoff	1459	718	36
Solvytschegodsk	Vologda	1086	988	560
Sophia	St. Petersburg	22	706	
Sofnitza	Novgorod Sieverskoi			
Spask	Kafan			134
Spask	Riazane	966	232	52
Spask	Tamboff	1300	570	207
Staraiia Russa	Novgorod	306	664	120
Staritza	Tver	595	237	73
Staro Bykhoff	Mohilef	984	569	38
Starodub	Novgorod Sieverskoi	1083	480	81
Stavropol	Caucasus			
Stavropol	Simbirsk	1589	849	133
Sterlitamazk	Ufa			111
Strietenisk	Irkutsk	6866	6136	1043
Subtzoff	Tver	628	280	116
				Sudogda

Towns.	In what government.	Verits from St. Peterb.	Verits from Mosco.	Verits from government- town.
Sudogda	Vladimir	939	212	37
Sudscha	Kurisk	1315	585	91
Sumy	Kharkoff	1383	653	175
Suraš	Polotzk	769	558	149
Surashsk	Novgorod Sieverskoi			141
Surgut	Tobolsk	3610	2875	725
Susdal	Vladimir	936	209	32
Svenigorod	Mosco	718	48	
Sviyabſk	Kafan	1445	715	30
Syfran	Simbirsk	1565	825	123
Sytschofka	Smolensk		219	227
Tagai	Simbirsk	1436	696	49
Taganrok	Ekatarinoslavl	2036	1306	460
Tamboff		1207	477	
Tara	Tobolsk	3445	2715	560
Tarusa	Kaluga	848	118	62
Temnikoff	Tamboff	1279	549	291
Tetyuschi	Kafan	1585	855	85
Theodosia	Tavrida			
Tichvin	Novgorod	243	744	210
Tim	Kurisk	1243	513	64
Tiumin	Tobolsk	2631	1901	254
Tobolſk		2885	2155	
Tomſk	Tobolsk	4309	3579	1424
Toropetz	Pleskoff	610	497	347
Torshok	Tver	503	227	63
Totma	Vologda	889	626	200
Troitzk	Penfa	1386	656	134
Troitzk	Ufa			462
Trubtſchevſk	Orel	1166	436	169
Tſchaufy	Mohilef			43
Tſchebokſar	Kafan	1350	620	124
Tſchelyabinsk	Ufa	2488	1758	400
Tſhembar	Pensa			129
Tſcherdyn	Perme	2321	1591	364
Tſcherekoff	Mohilef			82
Tſcherepovetch	Novgorod			476
Tſcherkask	Ekatarinoslavl	1936	1208	
Tſchernigoff		1124	676	
Tſchern	Tula	970	240	
Tſchernoi Yar	Saratoff	1972	1242	499
Tſchistopoliye	Kafan			125

Towns,	In what government.	Verfs from St. Peterbf.	Verfs from Moscu.	Verfs from government towns.
Tschuchloma	Kostroma	920	473	167
Tschuguyef	Kharkoff	1414	684	34
Tula		912	182	
Turinsk	Tobolsk	2480	1750	405
Turuchansk	Tobolsk	6190	5460	3305
Tver		568	162	
Tzarevo Kokshaik	Kasan	1354	624	126
Tzarevo Santschursk	Viatka	1414	684	253
Tzaritzin	Saratoff	1772	1042	355
Tzyvilstk	Kasan	1390	660	102
Ufa		1913	1183	
Uglitsch	Yaroslavl	734	180	101
Urshum	Viatka	1631	901	163
Usman	Tamboff	1226	496	158
Ustiugvelikoi	Vologda	1000	899	473
Ultiofna	Novgorod	450	368	357
Ustfysolsk	Vologda	1400	1300	876
Valdai	Novgorod	338	392	152
Valk	Riga			149
Valki	Kharkoff	1466	725	53
Valniki	Voronetch	1376	630	208
Varnayin	Kostroma	1132	666	387
Vafil	Nishnè Novgorod	1255	525	144
Veissenstein	Reval			34
Velikiye Luki	Pleskoff	528	601	259
Velisk	Polotzk	809	598	189
Velsk	Vologda	870	706	280
Venden	Riga			100
Veneff	Tula	860	130	40
Verchnei Lomoff	Pensa	1339	609	106
Verchoturiye	Perme	2503	1773	540
Verchoudinsk	Irkutsk	6116	5388	295
Verchouralsk	Ufa			309
Vereya	Mosco	831	98	
Verro	Riga			236
Vesenberg	Reval			80
Vesyegonik	Tver	502	406	241
Vetluga	Kostroma	1084	619	339
Viasma	Smolensk	587	221	163
Viasniki	Vladimir	1022	295	120
Viatka		1815	1085	
Vilmanstrand	Vyburg	190	920	50
				Vitebsk

Towns.	In what government.	Verfs from St. Petersb.	Verfs from Mosco.	Verfs from government- town.
Vitebsk	Polotzk	729	518	109
Vladimir		902	175	
Volmar	Riga		1171	103
Vologda		689	426	
Voloko Lamisk	Mosco	712	101	
Volsk	Saratoff			110
Voltschansk	Kharkoff			60
Voronetch		1220	490	
Voskrefensk	Mosco		42	
Vyburg		140	870	
Vyschnei Volotschok	Tver	432	298	134
Vytegra	Olonetz	426	876	
Yadrin	Kasan	1250	520	186
Yakutsk	Irkutsk	8309	7579	2486
Yalutorofsk	Tobol'sk	2715	1985	254
Yamburg	St. Petersburg	121	854	
Yaransk	Viatka	1706	972	202
Yarenesk	Vologda	1721	1147	721
Yaroslavl		830	243	
Yegoriefsk	Riazane	814	80	95
Yelabuga	Viatka			373
Yelatma	Tamboff	1055	325	264
Yeletz	Orel	1094	364	183
Yelna	Smolensk		326	90
Yeneseisk	Tobol'sk	5032	4300	2147
Yenotaiyefsk	Astrakhan	2084	1354	
Yephremoff	Tula	1024	294	112
Yuknoff	Smolensk		251	194
Yurieff Pol'skoi	Vladimir	820	90	50
Yuryevetz Povol'skoi	Kostroma	974	347	172

No. XII.

LIST of TOWNS in the EMPIRE of RUSSIA erected
during the REIGN of CATHARINE II.

In the government of Novgorod:	23. Mologa. 24. Daniloff. 25. Borisoglebsk.
1. Borovitschi. 2. Valdai. 3. Kreftzy. 4. Kiriloff. 5. Tcherepovetch.	PLESKOFF: 26. Petschory. 27. Ostroff.
TVER:	TULA:
6. Vyschni Volotschok. 7. Oftaschkoff. 8. Koliafin. 9. Vesiegonsk. 10. Krafnoi Kholm. 11. Kortscheva.	28. Bogoroditzk. 29. Tscherne. 30. Kropivna.
SMOLENSK:	MOHILEF:
12. Poryetschiye. 13. Yelnia. 14. Sytschofka. 15. Kaspilia. 16. Krafnoi. 17. Rapusoff. 18. Giatsk.	31. Tschaufy. 32. Staroi Bykhoff. 33. Babinovitschi. 34. Kopyss. 35. Siennoi. 36. Tscherekoff. 37. Klimovitschi. 38. Rogatsheff. 39. Bielitza.
KALUGA:	POLOTZK:
19. Schisdra.	40. Driesin. 41. Sebesh. 42. Nevel. 43. Dunaburg. 44. Riesitza. 45. Liutzin. 46. Velish.
YAROSLAVL:	47. Goro-
20. Petrofsk. 21. Rybnoi. 22. Myschkin.	

47. Gorodetch.
48. Surash.

KOSTROMA:

49. Vetluga.
50. Makarieff on the Unsha.
51. Varnavin.

RIAZANE:

52. Skopin.
53. Spask.
54. Yegoriefsk.

OREL:

55. Deschkin.
56. Malo-Archangelsk.
57. Dmitrofsk.

VLADIMIR:

58. Alexandroff.
59. Kirshatsch.
60. Pokroff.
61. Koffroff.
62. Sudogda.
63. Viasniki.
64. Melenki.

KURSK.

65. Fatesh.
66. Bogatoi.
67. Schtschigry.
68. Tim.
69. Dmitrief.
70. Lgoff.

NISHNE NOVGOROD:

71. Gorbatoff.
72. Lukoyanoff.
73. Perevos.
74. Makarieff.

75. Ardatoff.
76. Kniaginin.
77. Semeonoff.
78. Potschinki.
79. Sergatsch.

TAMBOFF:

80. Kirsanoff.
81. Morschansk.
82. Spask.
83. Lipetzk.

VORONETCH:

84. Sadonisk.
85. Bobroff.
86. Nishnaia Dievitzia.
87. Biryutsch.
88. Livenisk.
89. Kalitva.
90. Kupensk.
91. Bogutschar.
92. Bielovodsk.
93. Semliansk.

EKATARINOSLAUF:

94. Ekatarinoslauf.
95. Kherson, fort, haven,
and admiralty, not
far from the mouth
of the Dniepr.
96. Novomoskofsk.
97. Alexopol.
98. Konstantinograd.
99. Slaviansk.
100. Donetsk.
101. Mariupol.
102. Pavlograd.
103. Elizabethgrad.
104. Alexandria.
105. Novomirgorod.
106. Naschitschevan.
107. Berislauf.

VOLOGDA:

108. Vclesk.
109. Griasovetch.
110. Kadnikoff.
111. Lalsk.
112. Nikolsk.
113. Krafnoborsk.
114. Ulfsyfolsk.

ARCHANGEL:

115. Pinega.
116. Onega.
117. Kolmogory.
118. Schenkursk.

KHARKOFF:

119. Voltschansk.
120. Solotscheff.
121. Valki.
122. Krafnokutsk.
123. Bogodukhoff.
124. Miropoliye.
125. Biclopoliye.
126. Lebedin.
127. Nedrigailoff.

In St. PETERSBURG GOVERNMENT.

128. Sophia.
129. Roshestvensk.
130. Oranienbaum.
131. Luga.

OLONETZ:

132. Petrozavodsk.
133. Povienetch.
134. Vytegra.
135. Kem.
136. Lodeinoe Pole.
137. Pudoga.

VIATKA.

138. Glasofsk.
139. Yelabuga.
140. Malmyich.
141. Nolinsk.

PENSA:

142. Tschembar.
143. Gorodischtsche.
144. Scheschkeyeff.
145. Mokschan.
146. Troitzk.
147. Krafnoslobodsk.

SIMBIRSK:

148. Kanadyei.
149. Tagai.
150. Karfun.
151. Kotyakoff.
152. Buinsk.
153. Singileiyeff.
154. Ardatoff on the Alatyr.

SARATOFF.

155. Kvalynsk.
156. Volsk.
157. Kusnetzk.
158. Balaschoff.
159. Atkar.
160. Serdob.

KIEFF:

161. Oster.
162. Piriatin.
163. Khorol.
164. Goltva.
165. Gorodischtsche.
166. Solotonoscha.

TSCHERNIGOFF :

167. Gorodnia.
168. Berefin.
169. Glinsk.
170. Lokvitza.
171. Sienkoff.
172. Borsna.

NOVGOROD SIEVERSKOE :

173. Mglinsk.
174. Krolevetch.
175. Pogar.
176. Korop.
177. Sofnitsa.
178. Konotop.
179. Novomiesto.
180. Surash.

KASAN :

181. Laischeff.
182. Spask.
183. Schistopolie.
184. Mamadysch.
185. Arsk.
186. Tetyuschi.

PERME :

187. Perme.
188. Okhansk.
189. Obvinsk.
190. Dalmatoff.
191. Kamyschloff.
192. Alapaiyeff.
193. Osfa.
194. Irbit.

In the Mosco Government :

195. Voskrefensk.
196. Bogorodsk.
197. Bronnitz.
198. Nikitsk.
199. Podol.

UFA :

200. Menselinsk.
201. Bugulminsk.
202. Buguraflansk.
203. Belebyei.
204. Sterlitamazk.
205. Verchouralsk.
206. Tschelyabinsk.
207. Troitzk.
208. Busuluk.
209. Sergiefsk.

TOBOLSK :

210. Omsk.
211. Ischin.
212. Kurgan.
213. Yaluturoff.
214. Atschinsk.
215. Turukhan.
216. Kainsk.

KOLOYVAN :

217. Semipalatisk.
218. Kolyvan.
219. Biisk.

CAUCASUS :

220. Georgiefsk.
221. Alexandrofsk.
222. Yenotaiyefsk.
223. Stavropol.

TAVRIDA :

224. Simpheropol.
225. Eupatoria.
226. Dnieprofsk.
227. Melitopol.
228. Phanagoria.
229. Levkopol.

IRKUTSK :

IRKUTSK :

230. Verchnoudinsk.
 231. Nishnoudinsk.
 232. Kirensk.
 233. Doroninsk.
 234. Bargusin.
 235. Strietenesk.
 236. Olekminsk.
 237. Olensk.
 238. Shigansk.
 239. Saschiveresk.
 240. Ishigansk.

241. Aklansk.

242. Nishnykamtschatsk.

RIGA :

243. Lemsal.
 244. Volmar.

REVAL :

245. Baltic port.
 246. Veissenstein.
 247. Vesenberg.

No. XIII.

Note intended for Insertion at p. 72, of this Volume, but inadvertently omitted.

THE struggles of the republicans were of no avail, as they were never unanimous among themselves. Confederations indeed, in great numbers, sprung up; from 1767 to 1772, upwards of twenty were reckoned. The most remarkable of them was that which was formed entirely separate from all the rest, by Krasinsky, bishop of Kami-nietch, who had withdrawn from Warsaw, even before the termination of the diet in 1768, to Baar in Podolia; and was actuated by a spirit of the wildest fanaticism. The Russian superiority also quickly dissolved this league; three of its chiefs, Krasinsky, Pulafsky, and Potocki, fled into the Turkish territory. The remnant, however, of this confederation continued in Poland; they declared the throne to be vacant; nay, what would scarcely be thought possible, they carried off the king from the capital, though surrounded by Polish and Russian troops; but a no less won-

derful event preserved his life and liberty, without the necessity of foreign assistance.

The confusion was so great, that nothing but a signal battle could bring it to an end. But in order to this, foreign nations were induced to take part. France was in too nerveless a condition for being able to do much: however, Choiseul, by cabals and bribes, found the means to effect something. French soldiers too were sent hither to fight for the independence of Poland against the Russians. Dumouriez gathered here his first, though not very brilliant laurels.

END OF THE APPENDIX.



